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ABSTRACT

The study examines the attitudes of young people in the secondary schools and universities of Nicaragua toward politics, government, religion, education, and work. The report also looks at teacher's attitudes towards education. Over 50 instruments which provide information concerning attitudes, values, and beliefs were sent to random samples of students and teachers. Many of the instruments are described in the paper. The report shows that there are definite changes in the belief systems of the educated young in Nicaragua, mostly in the direction of attitudes held by people in more advanced industrialized nations. The study's conclusions include the following: several items on politics and equality indicate a strong shift from elitism toward a greater egalitarianism; although Nicaraguan young people still see their culture as more spiritual than that of North America, numerous responses indicate a growing sense of materialism; traditional political attitudes are in a state of flux and are moving towards democratic involvement by all people; and 98% of the teachers want to take an active part in the reform of the secondary curriculum. One part of the study compares the values and attitudes of Nicaraguan youth with the values of college-age males in the United States, Australia, Israel, and Canada as measured by the Rokeach Values Survey. Family security and a comfortable life are ranked considerably higher by Nicaraguans than by youth in the other countries. (Author/RM)

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NICARAGUA:

THE VALUES, ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

OF ITS EDUCATED YOUTH

SO 012 317

by

Richard J. Kraft
Professor of Education
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

1977

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PREFACE

Without the help of a great many people, the research reported on in this book would not have been possible. To my wife and family, who were willing to pack up and move to the country of Nicaragua on several different occasions, I wish to offer my deepest thanks and appreciation. Without their encouragement, the work could not have been completed.

To my Nicaraguan friend and colleague, Licenciado Agustin Acevedo, I wish to express my deepest appreciation for his many years of help in translation, administration of instruments and his teaching me so much about his country and his people. To Professor Tulio Tablada of the University of Central America, my special thanks for his constant interaction and checking of my perceptions about Nicaraguan schools and culture. Without the logistical support of former Minister of Education, Dr. J. Antonio Mora, and Professor Raul Quintanilla, this project would have been impossible. The cooperation of the principals, teachers and students at each of the secondary schools and universities, where the instruments were administered was excellent. I wish to express my thanks to each of them and trust that the research will help to provide some insights into their educational work.

Dean Karl Openshaw of the School of Education at the University of Colorado gave his permission for two leaves of absence, during which time the research was conducted. Miss Susan Oldefant and Mr. Robert Stonehill of the Laboratory for Educational Research provided invaluable

help in the coding of the data, programming of the computer and analysis of the results. To them I wish to offer a special note of thanks, along with Ms. Lyn Parken who assisted in the analysis. Finally, I wish to thank the Council on Research and Creative work at the University of Colorado, which provided funds for the typing of the manuscript.

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the attitudes, values and beliefs of young people in the secondary schools and universities of the country of Nicaragua. It aims to fill in the gap of information currently existing about contemporary Nicaraguan society. During the development of the National Plan for Education in 1971, it became apparent to the author, that there was little data to use in a description of the society and culture. It is to fill in part of that gap that the research reported on in this book was conducted. Although the data deals only with that small percentage of young people, who reach the secondary schools and universities of the country, it is representative of the current and future power structure. It is hoped that at some future date, further research might be done on that portion of the population who are part of the rural poor majority and who attend schools for only a short period of time. The research reported on in this study attempts to deal with 12 basic questions:

1. How closely do the young people of Nicaragua reflect the cultural values, norms, attitudes and beliefs of Latin America and other nations?

2. What effects do age, sex, religion and political party affiliations have on the belief systems of Nicaraguan youth?

3. Do educational achievement, parental educational level, type of school attended, grades received and feelings toward school help to predict the direction of cultural attitudes, values, and beliefs.

4. Is mobility, within Nicaragua or internationally, helpful in predicting cultural values, beliefs and attitudes?

5. Are size of family and social status of parents predictive of attitudes?

6. Do the young people of Nicaragua differ from the population in general, in their political, economic, vocational, religious, racial and educational attitudes, values and beliefs?

7. What are the expressed political values of Nicaraguan youth?

8. How orthodox in their religious beliefs have Nicaraguan youth remained and to what ethical values do they hold?

9. What are the attitudes of Nicaraguan youth towards formal education, and what is the dominant philosophy of education in the society?

10. In what way does the economy influence the occupational values of the young people?

11. How have such factors as the social class and the ethnic and racial makeup of the society affected the attitudes, values and beliefs in the areas of family, friendship and sex?

12. How do those in the formal educational system perceive themselves on personality and self-concept inventories?

The first chapter lays the historical and geographical background of the country, with the design and results of the research presented in subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 deals with the sampling procedures, descriptions of the instruments, the reason for their choice and the methodologies used in their translation. It also deals with questions

concerning selection of the sample, its size, adequacy, where the instruments were administered and the treatment of the data. Chapter 3 is a discussion of research on values and Latin American values and beliefs.

Political realities and attitudes are the subject matter of Chapter 4. Following a description of the government of Nicaragua, its legal system, political parties and foreign relations, the research findings on the political attitudes from several instruments are discussed. The questions surveyed deal with such topics as nationalism, equality, ideology, civil liberties and corruption in government.

Chapter 5 deals with the topics of religion, human nature and ethical values. A description of the role of the church in the state, religious institutions and religious practice in the life of Nicaraguans is followed by a discussion of the research results on the orthodoxy of the religious belief systems of Nicaraguan young people. Within that context, questions of fate, the will of God, church attendance, salvation and such ethical values as tolerance, honesty, altruism and independence are dealt with.

In Chapter 6 the legal framework of the schools, their stated goals and objectives and the Ministry of Education are described. The educational systems at the primary, secondary and higher educational levels are dealt with both historically and statistically as well as teacher education in the normal schools and at the universities. Attitudes of students, teachers and administrators are described on a wide range of educational topics. In addition, the Nicaraguan philosophy of education is studied in some detail.

Following a description of the economy, the occupational values of Nicaraguan young people are described and analyzed in Chapter 7. This is in light of the nature of economic change within the country and the realities of that situation as young people graduate from the secondary schools and universities in ever increasing numbers.

In the closing chapter of the manuscript, a variety of instruments, dealing with a range of values, attitudes, and personality variables are discussed. Using the Rokeach Value Survey, Nicaraguan secondary and University students are compared to similar samples in other countries. Items from the Culture-Belief Systems Test deal with such concepts as sexism, racism, fate control and achievement motivation, while the Purpose in Life Test and the Philosophy of Human Nature instrument look more closely at those aspects of the personality of Nicaraguan young people. The final two instruments deal with self-concept as reported by secondary and university students.

CHAPTER 1

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING

Geography has played an important role throughout Nicaragua's history. Located as it is, between the North and South American continents, the settlement, trade and movement patterns have been primarily from the south and the north. Following colonization by the Spanish in 1522, a further connection of trade and movement was made with Western Europe. The aboriginal inhabitants of Nicaragua are thought to have come originally from South America, primarily the Chibchas of Colombia. These were followed later by Indian groups moving south from Mexico and Guatemala. The original Indian groups were quite advanced and had developed a system of political control throughout their large villages. Nicarao was the chief of the most powerful tribe at the time that Gil Gonzales de Avila reached Nicaragua in 1522, followed by Cordoba in 1524. The name of the country was taken from the Indian chief and the currency is named after Cordoba.

Geographers divide the country into three or four basic regions: the heavily populated west which consists of the Pacific highlands and lowlands along the lakes of the great rift depression; the highlands, which are the second most highly populated section of the country; and lastly the eastern Caribbean coastal plain which has scattered settlements at the mouths of rivers on the Mosquito Coast. Lake Nicaragua and Lake Managua are the largest bodies of fresh water in Central America, with the larger of the two, Lake Nicaragua, being known

for its fresh water sharks. The climate of Nicaragua is predominately tropical, with the exception of the highlands where a more mild climate prevails. The year is generally divided into a wet season running from April or May until October, a cool dry season from November to February, and a hot, humid, but comparatively dry season, from February to April or May.

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the highlands and Caribbean coastal areas were sparsely settled by relatively primitive tribes, some of whose descendants are still to be found in the sparsely settled area of eastern Nicaragua. In the rift valley of the west, however, the Chorotegan culture was quite active and was involved in cultivation of the fertile soil of the area. Nicaragua was never a center of Spanish penetration due to distance from the two main centers, Panama and Mexico. The Spanish were given large numbers of gold ornaments by the Indian tribes in the western part of the country and this led to the founding of the two rival cities of Granada and Leon. It also led to the settlement of the tropical lowlands, unlike that which occurred in most of the other Spanish settlements in which the cooler highlands were settled first. Although Spaniards originally moved up from Panama, Nicaragua did not become part of the Panamanian empire, but rather was given to Mexico and became part of the Captaincy General of Guatemala.

Nicaragua's strategic location as a possible isthmian route led to a great deal of interest on the part of the British and the Americans in the mid-19th century. Cornelius Vanderbilt transported hundreds of miners from the east coast of the United States down to Nicaragua, took

them across the country and then up the west coast to California. Nicaragua is still under discussion as a possible location for a canal. In 1914, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was signed giving the rights to the United States to construct an interoceanic canal up the San Juan River and through the lakes to the Pacific Ocean. It was not until 1971, that this treaty was abrogated by both Nicaragua and the United States.

Along with its geographical location, as a possible canal route, the other dominant geographic feature of Nicaragua has been its instability. The capital city of Managua was destroyed in 1931 by a major earthquake and then again in December of 1972. Large numbers of volcanoes are to be found throughout the western part of Nicaragua and these cause extensive damage from time to time. Nicaragua, like much of the rest of Central America is battered by hurricanes, which are stirred up over the Caribbean and cross the country, causing extensive damage from wind and flooding. The soil of Nicaragua tends to be somewhat infertile, with the exception of the alluvial deposits along valley floors, and the fertile volcanic soils created from lavas and ash in the great rift areas.

Nicaragua is bounded on the north by Honduras and by Costa Rica on the south. The Honduran boundary was not settled until 1960, and there have been a variety of disputes with Costa Rica in the last half century. The current boundaries, however, appear to be quite stable. Internally, the country is divided in 15 departments and these in turn are divided into townships or municipios.

Colonial Period, 1524-1820

During colonial rule, which lasted for almost 300 years, another important fact of Nicaraguan history developed. This was the rivalry

between Granada and Leon. The rivalry between these two cities, Leon being the center of Liberals who generally sought a unified Central American country, and the Conservatives made up of large landholding groups in Granada, who sought the independence of the country during the 19th century. It was during the 19th century that the city of Managua was founded on the shores of Lake Managua, nearly halfway between the two rival cities. Managua soon became the center of the country, as it became an archbishopric and also the commercial and governmental center. Leon, due to its location near the coast, became a more cosmopolitan city and one in which the first university was founded. Some commentators on Nicaraguan history have suggested that the intense feelings of localism which Nicaraguans still feel towards their city or region have been due to the tradition of fighting between the Conservatives of Granada and the Liberals of Leon. As new cities were founded, they also adopted a localistic perception of themselves, so that much of Nicaraguan history has been one faction or one area against another.

With independence in 1839, the country went through a long period of instability, leading to the intervention of foreign powers to protect investments and the right to build an interoceanic canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, between the United States and Great Britain, was an agreement that either power could "occupy, fortify, colonize or exercise dominion over any portion of Central America, and that any canal built through Nicaragua by either power would be neutral." It was at this time that Vanderbilt formed three corporations, a steamship company to carry passengers to Nicaragua, a canal company to dig the canal, and a transit company to carry passengers across the country while

the canal was being built. Although the influence of Vanderbilt was perhaps greater, the most interesting American involvement of the mid-19th century was that of William Walker, leader of an American group of soldiers-of-fortune, who came to Nicaragua in 1855 to assist the Liberals. After failing to form a coalition government, he had himself elected president, but was deposed two years later by the combined forces of Central America, Great Britain and by Vanderbilt, whose concession for a canal, Walker had revoked. Walker was captured attempting to return to Nicaragua and died at the hands of a Honduran firing squad. Following Walker's brief reign, the Conservatives came into power and provided 30 years of stable rule. In 1893, Zelaya, a Liberal, assumed power and rules until 1909.

In 1909, a Conservative rebellion led to the execution by Zelaya of two U.S. soldiers-of-fortune. This act precipitated the beginning of extensive foreign involvement in the country of Nicaragua. Zelaya resigned and the new Conservative government signed a treaty in 1910, which gave bankers from New York financial control of much of the country. Direct military involvement by the United States came in 1912, when U.S. Marines were called in to protect foreign lives and property. The Marines remained until 1925, and returned again from 1927 to 1933, during which time they helped "preserve the peace and trained the Nicaraguans to form their own National Guard." Although the United States did not directly supervise the elections of 1924 or 1928, they were actively involved in setting up the roles by which they were to be held. One of the Liberal generals rejected an armistice which had been worked out between the Liberals and the Conservatives in 1928, and

carried on a guerrilla war over the next six years. This man, General Augusto Sandino, has become a hero for revolutionaries throughout all of Latin America, as it was he who suggested that no peace treaty could be signed without the evacuation of the Americans. Sandino was lured into Managua, and allegedly executed by members of the Nicaraguan National Guard under the command of General Anastasio Somoza.

Somoza was elected President of Nicaragua in 1936, and he, members of his family or those backed by his family have been in power to the present day. Somoza, although an absolute ruler, established popular support, partially as a result of his humble origins, not having come from the families of Leon or Granada. This has also been helpful to his son, also named Anastasio Somoza, the current President, who was most recently elected in 1974 to a six-year term. Although the elder Somoza served as President until 1947, and was elected again in 1951, after a brief interim in which an aging uncle assumed the Presidency, he did not fill out his six-year term due to his assassination by a political activist in 1956. Although the Constitution of 1950, written by agreement between Somoza and the opposition Conservative party, held that no President could be re-elected and that no close relative of a former President could be elected, Luiz Somoza, the older son, was elected President in 1957 to 1963, following the repeal of that Constitutional prohibition by the Liberal majority. During the Presidency of Luiz Somoza the constitutional amendment prohibiting re-election or the appointment of close relatives was reinstituted. The intent of this, however, was dealt perhaps a fatal blow when Luiz died

in office. After a short period in which other friends of the family ruled, Anastasio Somoza, Jr., was elected to the Presidency. He resigned his term early to appoint a triumvirate, and was then re-elected in 1974 to a new six-year term, and under a new constitutional amendment will be permitted re-election in the year 1980.

In discussing the history of Nicaragua, one is referring almost exclusively to the western lowlands and the central highlands area. Eastern Nicaragua, or what has been known as the Mosquito Coast throughout its history, has been isolated from the mainstream of the country, in fact it was not until 1860, in the Treaty of Managua that Great Britain ceded to Nicaragua all claims for that portion of the country, and it was not until 1894 that the region was incorporated into the Department of Zelaya. Even today the eastern portion of the country has tended to go its own way, due to its Indian, Black, English-speaking and Protestant heritage, while the rest of the country is predominately Spanish-speaking, Catholic and Mestizo in its heritage.

Other aspects of Nicaraguan history and geography will be touched on in following chapters as discussions of the economy, the political system, the educational system and Nicaraguan culture and its people are dealt with in more detail.

CHAPTER 2

SAMPLING PROCEDURES AND INSTRUMENTS

The research reported on in this book was conducted in 1971 and 1972. The 1971 research dealt primarily with teachers, administrators and students' attitudes towards schools, while the 1972 studies dealt with values, attitudes and beliefs on a wide variety of topics.

1971 Sampling Procedures

In 1971, 54,521 students were enrolled in the secondary schools in Nicaragua. From this total it was decided that a three percent sample or 1605 students would be adequate for purposes of ascertaining attitudes towards all aspects of the educational system. With this ir mind, a randomized sample was selected from among the various types of secondary schools. From the 55 public secondary schools 10 were randomly selected, while two of the five public normal schools were selected. One of the four public commercial schools was selected and none of the 22 private commercial schools. One of the five public agricultural schools participated in the sample, while neither of the two private agricultural schools were selected. It had originally been hoped to include five of the 130 private secondary schools; due to administrative problems, however, only three of the 130 participated. The three, however, represent an all-boys' school and an all-girls' school of the very wealthy class, while the third was a much poorer, coeducational, private secondary school. In all, a total of 17 secondary schools were selected for the sample. At each grade level, a sample

close to its percentage in the total school population was randomly selected.

Table 2:1

1971 Student Sample

Secondary Grade Level	Percent of Students Enrolled	Percentage of Sample	Number of Students in Sample
1	32.75	27.48	441
2	22.41	29.99	385
3	17.94	13.71	220
4	14.43	17.26	277
5	10.55	17.57	282
Total			1605

No attempt was made to balance out the ratio sexually, but 810 males and 705 females reflect the overall enrollment. From among the 2056 persons involved in teaching in Nicaragua, a 9% sample of 186 teachers were selected for participation in the research study.

Instrumentation

With minor changes, the questionnaires used for the teachers and administrators were the same as those used for the students. In this way, it was possible to ascertain differences in perceptions towards the educational system of the country of Nicaragua between the two groups. The instruments were designed by a team of Nicaraguan educators working with the author. Some of the areas covered which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 5 of the manuscript are:

biographic and socioeconomic data, the quality of schooling, attitudes towards many aspects of the schooling process including such areas as dropouts, guidance programs, courses which should be required or be electives, types of examinations, teaching methodologies, and the curriculum.

An extensive part of the instrument was a series of questions attempting to get at progressive and traditional educational philosophies. A wide variety of types of questions were also used in the instrument, including multiple choice, rankings, Likert-type scales, open-ended questions and a semantic differential.

1972 Sampling Procedures

In an attempt to get as broad a range of attitudes, values and beliefs as possible it was decided to use a select sample for the research conducted in 1972. For this reason four secondary schools and two universities were selected to participate in the research. In this way both secondary and university levels were represented, providing some age comparisons for the research. In an attempt to find differences between the Catholic and Protestant populations of the country, two private Protestant institutions were selected and two public institutions, which were predominantly Catholic, were selected. Due to the nature of cultural, ethnic and other differences between the east and the west coasts, two schools were selected from each section of the country. The high tuition charged by the private schools leads to major social class differences between them and the

public schools. Two wealthy private institutions were chosen along with the two public schools at the secondary level, and both the private and public universities were used in the study. Due to the sensitive nature of many of the instruments used, it was also felt that a more limited sample than had been used in 1971 would be appropriate and provide the necessary data.

A total of 1476 students participated in the research project, coming from the four secondary institutions and the two universities. Although there was an attempt to balance out the number of students taking various instruments at each level, the percentages are not as close as those in the 1971 research.

Table 2:2

1972 Student Sample

Grade Level	Percent of Students at Grade Level	Percentage of Sample	Number of Students in Sample
1	33.82	16.56	179
2	22.30	14.43	156
3	17.60	17.39	188
4	14.18	30.62	331
5	10.34	21.00	227
University	3.20	-	395

With a total of 61,084 students in the secondary schools of Nicaragua in 1972, the 1,081 students represent 1.8% of the total.

While the 395 university students represent 3.2% of the 12,519 university students in 1972, the number of students taking any one instrument varied from a low of 51 who took an adaption and translation of Kerlinger's Educational Attitude Scale to a high of 210 who took the Culture Belief Systems Test, an instrument created especially for this research project.

Statistical Analysis

For both the 1971 and 1972 research projects, all data was keypunched and analyzed by computer at the University of Colorado. For all of the instruments means, standard deviations and simple correlations were run. In addition, on most of the instruments modes and medians were also obtained. On two of the studies done in 1972, the Educational Attitude Study, based on the Kurlinger instrument and on the Culture Belief System Test, extensive factor analyses were also conducted. Overall trends and directions will be reported in addition to significant differences at the .05 and .01 levels.

Selection and Preparation of Instruments

In the fall of 1971, prior to returning to Nicaragua, the author conducted a literature search in the United States to obtain instruments which would provide information concerning attitudes, values and beliefs in education, religion, economics, politics and a wide variety of other topics. Over 50 such instruments were taken to Nicaragua in January of 1972. With the help of a team of Nicaraguan educators at the Ministry of Education and the universities, 12 instruments were selected for translation, adaptation and administration in the secondary schools and

universities. Each of the instruments was selected to fill a particular gap of knowledge concerning Nicaraguan values, attitudes or beliefs. Following translation of the instruments by the author and a team of bilingual, Nicaraguan educators, they were administered to students in the first through fifth years at a large secondary school in the city of Managua. Problems of language and understanding of testing techniques became obvious at that time and the instruments were further adapted and changed to meet the needs of the secondary and university population to whom they would be administered in April and May of 1972.

Description of the Instruments

Attitudes Towards Education Scale

Perhaps the most widely used instrument attempting to analyze educational attitudes has been a scale developed by Fred N. Kerlinger in 1956, which has since been revised several times. This scale, which was adapted and translated for use in Nicaragua, was a 1967 version reported in the American Educational Research Journal by Kerlinger.[1] In the scale of 46 statements, 23 are considered by Professor Kerlinger to be conservatively loaded or traditionally loaded while 23 were considered progressive. Due to the nature of many of the words and phrases used in the English version, the Spanish version made considerable changes in the instrument, although it attempted to keep the basic sense of each question. In addition, the order of the questions was changed around for use with the Nicaraguan sample. An example of the difficulties would be the first question on the Nicaraguan sample, which in English reads, "Schools of today are neglecting the three R's." There is no concept in

Nicaraguan education of the tree R's; however, the Spanish translation attempted to get the sense of the meaning with the following statement: "Schools of today tend to ignore basic materials such as arithmetic and grammar." On the scale, students are asked to place their agreement or disagreement with the statement from a +3 for agree very strongly to a -3 disagree very strongly, with an agree strong +2, agree +1, disagree strongly -2, disagree -1, as the other points on the six-point scale.

Attitude Scale

In an attempt to get at questions of rigidity as they relate to dogmatism and authoritarianism, Elizabeth Wesley's "Rigidity Scale," developed in 1953, was used as the basis for developing a 41-question set of statements.[2] There were 67 items on the original scale developed for use in the United States in 1953, and reported in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. The 67 items were cut down to 41 with those questions having little applicability to the Nicaraguan setting being cut out. Attitudes towards such things as church attendance, duty, sexual freedom and conventionalism make up the majority of the questions on this attitude scale. With the exception of one small test written by a professor of psychology at one of the universities in Nicaragua, nothing has been written about the nature of personality among the Nicaraguan people. There has been no research done on the self-concepts of Nicaraguan young people or others in the society. With this in mind, the "Adjective Check List" developed by Goff and Heilbrun in 1965[3] was used as the basis for developing a similar instrument for uxe in Nicaragua. The Goff and Heilbrun instrument lists 300 adjectives to which the respondent is to check a

yes or a no, as to whether it characterizes their view of themselves. As might be expected, there are numerous words among the 300, which have no direct translations into Spanish. As a result, the Spanish listing is at best a close approximation of the American instrument. The instrument has been used in the United States by looking at the adjectives checked on a variety of topics: defensiveness, self-confidence, self-control, liability, personal adjustment, achievement, dominance, endurance, order, nurturance, affiliation, heterosexuality, exhibition, autonomy, aggression, change, succorence, abasement, deference and counseling readiness. In addition, the number of positive and negative adjectives checked have been analyzed. Due to the nature of the Nicaraguan sample, all of these indices will not be used. However, general descriptions of Nicaraguan youth will be drawn from their self-conceptions as checked on a list of adjectives.

Purpose in Life Test

The "Purpose in Life Test" developed by Crumbaugh and reported in the Journal of Individual Psychology in 1968,[4] was devised to test Victor Frankl's thesis that when meaning in life is not found, the result is existential frustration. In the American samples significant differences were found between successful businessmen and college undergraduates on the one hand, and psychiatric patients on the other hand. In addition, there were differences between "normal" groups. This particular instrument contains items dealing with achievement, death, fate and religious themes, a topic or a series of topics about which little or nothing has been done in Nicaragua.

Culture Belief Systems

In order to fill in gaps not covered by the other tests, a special instrument was designed, entitled "Culture Belief Systems Test." Following a search of the literature on Nicaragua and on Latin American culture, a 63-item instrument was designed, using a five-point Likert scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree in which concepts such as fate control, equality, social class, wealth, religion, work ethic, sexism, family, sexual attitudes, nepotism, elitism, cooperation, time, friendship, death, law, and other concerns were dealt with in the form of a statement. All of the items were given the statistical treatment of means, standard deviations and correlations, while 25 items were specifically selected to attempt to deal with six basic factors, religion, sexism, traditional respect values, political attitudes and equality, legal and moral issues and fate. With the selected 25 items, a factor analysis was done. Once the proposed factors were defined in terms of items, it was possible to form factor scores. This was done by adjusting the score of items which were negatively rated and summing the scores of each item within the proposed factor. The Hoyt reliability for each proposed factor was then computed. Only two of the proposed factors had reliabilities above .35, religiosity at .4 and fate or predestination at .37. The factor analysis, in light of this failure of the proposed factors to be well defined by the selected items began to take on exploratory rather than confirmatory emphasis. The results of the factor analysis broke down into factor loadings for nine factors. The details of the factor analysis will be dealt with later.

Philosophy of Human Nature

The "Philosophy of Human Nature" instrument developed by Wrightsman in 1964,[5] attempts to break down how people perceive human nature into six difference components: 1) trustworthiness or the extent to which people are seen as moral, honest and reliable; 2) altruism, the extent of unselfishness, sympathy and concern for others; 3) independence, the extent to which a person can maintain his convictions in the face of society's pressures toward conformity; 4) strength of will and rationality, the extent to which people understand the motives behind their behavior and the extent to which they have control over their outcomes; 5) complexity of human nature, the extent to which people are complex and hard to understand versus simple and easy to understand and 6) variability in human nature, the extent of individual differences in basic nature and the basic changeability in human nature.

On the English version the 120 items were broken down with 20 for each of the six components, 10 stated positively and 10 negatively. On the Nicaraguan instrument, only those which appeared to have some relationship to Nicaraguan culture were used. On the trustworthiness scale 5 positive items and 3 negative were chosen; for altruism, 5 positive and 2 negative; for independence, 3 positive and 4 negative; for strength of will and rationality, 3 positive and 4 negative; for complexity of human nature, 2 positive and 5 negative; and lastly, for variability of human nature, 4 positive and 2 negative items, giving a total of 42 items for the test. The results of the instrument are dealt with in a discussion in a later chapter. As with the American version, the Nicaraguans were

asked to respond from a +3, strongly in agreement; +2, somewhat in agreement; +1, slightly in agreement; -1, slightly in disagreement; -2, somewhat in disagreement; and -3, strongly in disagreement. As with the American samples, positive and negative scores have been developed. The purpose for the selection of this instrument was to ascertain perceptions about human nature on the part of Nicaraguan young people and to see what impact religion and other cultural variables might have.

Occupations

One of the major concerns of Nicaraguan educators has been the lack of vocational guidance programs in the schools and the lack of "reality orientation" on the part of secondary students and university students about the job market into which they will enter. With this in mind, an instrument titled "Occupations" was developed. Twenty-four occupations which are to be found in Nicaragua were listed. Students were asked to rank order in the first column, the prestige levels of the different occupations. As might be expected, the highest ranking occupation was that of medical doctor and the lowest a shoeshine boy. In the second column, students were asked which occupation they would prefer to enter. Once again the same first and last priorities remained; however, some reality seemed to have entered the picture as will be reported on in a later chapter. In the third column students were asked which they professions they expected to enter. It was in this place that the unreality became quite evident. The vast majority expected to enter the medical profession, even though the realities are that very few of them would be able to make it.

The "Self Concept Scale,"[6] developed at the University of Georgia and available through the ERIC System, was selected in an attempt to gain further evidence of the way that Nicaraguan young people perceive themselves. In the scale, students are asked to check in one of three columns, the way that they perceive themselves on such adjectives as friendly, obedient, careful, smart, helpful and other such things. Rather than the 30 items to be found in the American Self Concept Scale, 24 were chosen; as with the adjective check list referred to earlier, problems of translation on many of the words and differences in meaning led to certain questions about applicability of data across culture lines.

Dimensions of Religious Ideology

Using a 7-point Likert scale, from strong agreement to strong disagreement, students were asked to respond to an 18-statement test, based on Putney and Middleton's "Dimensions of Religious Ideology" instrument as reported in Social Forces, 1961.[7] In the original instrument, four dimensions were dealt with: orthodoxy, fanaticism, importance and ambivalence. The fourth factor was left out of the Nicaraguan instrument and other changes were made. It has been rumored that the Vatican declared Nicaragua the least religious nation of Latin America, and the author and his Nicaraguan colleagues felt it to be important to analyze the nature of the religious belief systems of Nicaraguan young people. In studies in the United States, attempts were made to correlate such personality characteristics as authoritarianism, status concern, anomia and conservatism with the various dimensions on the scale. In addition, Catholicity or Protestantism were also measured in addition to sex and

socioeconomic status. Some of these same dimensions were looked at in the Nicaraguam study. A more extensive Dimensions of Religiosity instrument was developed by King in 1967, and although this did not serve as the basis for the research, some aspects of that study will also be referred to, when looking at the Nicaraguan sample.

Political Attitudes and Opinions

The "Political Attitude Scale" uses a 6-point Likert scale from agree-very-much to disagree-very-much. Twenty statements concerning politics, ideology, future and past orientation, and democratic and authoritarian attitudes were studied. This is an area about which there has been much speculation in Nicaragua, but about which no research has been conducted. Many observers of the country have speculated that forty years of control by one family would lead to certain attitudes on the part of his people. In an attempt to shed some light on the effects of political stability and lack of change within the country, the 20-item scale on politics was developed.

Values

One of the most widely used instruments in the United States to analyze values has been a value scale developed by Rokeach,[8] in which the respondent rank orders 18 terminal values such as a comfortable life, a world at peace, salvation and wisdom, and 18 instrumental values such as ambitious, clean, capable, loving, self controlled. This particular instrument has been used widely throughout numerous countries of the world, and for this reason it was selected for use with the Nicaraguan sample.

As with the other instruments used in Nicaragua, questions of translation on this instrument must be considered. Attempts were made to come as close as possible to the actual meaning of the American or English phrases as possible. The results on this particular instrument will be dealt with in some detail as there is a great deal of international and cross-cultural research which can also be reported on.

Footnotes to Chapter 2

[1]Fred N. Kerlinger, "The First and Second-Order Factor Structures of Attitudes toward Education," American Educational Research Journal, 7 no. 3 (May 1967), 191-205.

[2]Elizabeth Wesley, "Perseverative Behavior, Manifest Anxiety, and Rigidity," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 48 (1953), 129-134.

[3]Harrison G. Gough and Alfred Heilbrun, The Adjective Checklist Manual (Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1965).

[4]James C. Crumbaugh, "Cross-validation of Purpose-In-Life-Test Based on Frankl's Concepts," Journal of Individual Psychology, 24 (1968), 74-81.

[5]L. Wrightsman, "Measurement of Philosophies of Human Nature," Psychological Reports, 14 (1964), 743-751.

[6]Joseph C. Bledsoe, "Self-Concept Scale," ERIC (ED 003 004).

[7]S. Putney and R. Middleton, "Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies," Social Forces, 39 (1961), 285-290.

[8]M. Rokeach, "Faith, Hope, and Bigotry," Psychology Today (April 1970), 33-35.

CHAPTER 3

LATIN AMERICAN VALUES AND BELIEFS

Any description of Latin American values and beliefs must carefully distinguish between those characteristics in the culture which have been systematically documented through careful research and those which are only sustained through the selected perception and the selected forgetting of prejudiced observers. Caution must also be taken to avoid oversimplification, as it is as difficult to describe a Latin American value system as it is to describe a North American one. There are variations between countries and between groups within the same country, but there do appear to be consistent patterns of behavior and beliefs which cut across national boundaries and class or educational lines. Traditional stereotypes of Latin America do little to help us understand the culture and can be faulted for attempting to measure Latin America by a North American yardstick. Alba's description of traditional stereotypes if helpful as a background for looking at what sociologists, anthropologists and other trained observers have said about Latin America. Latins have been stereotyped as embodying the following:

> Laziness in work, passion in love, fanaticism in religion, rhetoric in culture, personality cults in politics, backwardness in the economy, poverty in the streets, chivalry in behavior, deceit in business, women shut up at home, vivacious songs and dances, sleepy mysterious Indians, the all devouring jungle . . . .[1]

Stereotypes are exaggerated beliefs which serve the function of justifying or rationalizing conduct in relation to the group being

stereotyped. For too long, North Americans have judged the Latins, using our cultural sets, and have looked at them through North American eyes. It is little wonder that anti-Americanism is on the rise throughout most of the continent.

The underlying problems facing much of Latin America have been well documented: the elite-mass gap which is growing in many countries, differences in urban and rural income levels, surface political instability yet political systems which change very little, skyrocketing birth rates and low economic growth rates, rigid hierarchical social structures, urban slums with high unemployment, and inadequate educational and health facilities. These problems are not unique to Latin America and, in fact, many of them can be found in the most advanced nations of the world. What is unique, however, is the Latin response to the problem and the value systems within which these responses are formulated.

Values Defined

Social scientists and others looking at those aspects of culture which lead to modernization or economic development are recognizing the importance of cultural values in the development process. It still is not too clear what the precise incompatibilities are between particular cultures or aspects of cultures and the development of complex organization for rapid economic growth, but research has begun to provide some insight into those values which lead to the modernization of society. For the purposes of this paper we shall use Wells' definition of values as "conceptions of desirable or undesirable ends, means and styles of action."[2] Kluckhohn's definition adds further clarification.

> From the psychological point of view, a value may be defined as the aspect of motivation which is referable to standards, personal or cultural that do not arise solely out of an immediate situation and the satisfaction of needs and primary drives . . . Such behavior belongs to the category regarded as "desirable" or "undesirable" by the group with which the individual identifies, not to the acts which the individual simply desires or does not desire.[3]

Anthropologists refer to value principles as philosphical commitments or unprovable beliefs about a variety of topics: the nature of man, time orientation, man's relationship to the natural environment or the universe, and human interaction. The way in which a culture deals with these basic themes provides a framework from which to look at the world and at other cultures. The controlling values of a people set up approved goals in each value area.

There are recent studies which indicate that differing rates of economic growth are partially due to different values and other studies which also show that need-achievement orientation precedes economic growth. For the purposes of this paper, we shall take the position of most sociological analysts, that the values of a culture play a major independent role in economic development and modernization and are not solely derivatives of economic factors. As Lipset has so well stated, "Structural conditions make a development possible; cultural factors determine whether the possibility becomes an actuality."[4]

Latin Values and Belief Systems

In describing Latin America there appears to be some general agreement by social scientists about those values which are dominant within

the people and the culture. We shall only attempt a quick summary here, as these will be dealt with in greater detail as part of the discussion of the research. Lipset deals with four dimensions which he sees as useful in analyzing the relationship between values and the conditions for development: achievement-ascription, universalism-particularism, specificity-diffuseness, and equalitarianism-elitism. He sees Latin American culture as being ascriptive, that is, persons are treated on the basis of inherited qualities, rather than on the basis of achievement or ability. It is particularistic in responding to personal attributes or relationships rather than applying universal standards, and it is elitist as opposed to equalitarian. It tends toward diffuseness, in that status from one's position is accorded in all situations, rather than in the specific positions one happens to occupy. Expressive rather than instrumental behavior tends to dominate.[5]

A study of the differences of Latin American and North American businessmen gets into some other value considerations. The Latin American is less interested in peer group support and looks more to personal feelings when making decisions. Group decision-making is not part of the culture, and personal arrangements involving the family are preferable to impersonal ones. Social prestige has a higher priority than money, and the poetic and literary eye is distinctly more important than science and technology.[6] Many scholars have pointed to the authoritarianism which came from a Catholic tradition and also to the elite scorn of manual labor, a tradition of Latifundia. Personalism is a central value of Latin culture, but in a significantly different form than that found in North America. Whereas North Americans point at the similarities of

mankind, equality of opportunity, and the external or social equality of persons, the Latin Americans emphasize the inner worth and dignity of each person. This difference permits an established hierarchy and social inequality while still endowing each person with respect and dignity.

Another major value area, easily observed in any Latin American setting, is the strength of family ties. From the colonial era comes a tradition of a hierarchy in politics, religion, business and the family. A sense of community responsibility is generally missing as a partial result. Latin Americans view their culture as spiritual as opposed to materialistic, which they see as dominating North America and Europe. This is thought to have some bearing on their view of manual labor or work for work's sake. Transcendental values, the aesthetic life, and literary activity are valued to a greater extent than economic activity. The governmental documents of Latin America tend to be masterpieces of literature and logic, but it is often felt that if written expression has been given to an ideal, the job is done. Traditionally, intuition and emotion have had a stronger hold on Latin America than do reason or logic. The scientific method has not taken hold in most classrooms and although Latin America has produced its share of Nobel Prize winners in literature, none has yet been awarded in the sciences or medicine.

Many observers of Latin America point to the sense of fatalism which characterizes the people of the region. "Si Dios quiere" (if God so wills) is a common everyday expression which shows this, and the lottery is an example of the hold the sense of luck or destiny has on the people. Failure is the result of fate and not due to one's lack of striving.[7]

Male superiority with the consequent high valuation placed upon authoritarian husbands, patriarchal fathers and paternalistic landowners is a topic often dealt with in descriptions of Latin America. Machismo, the cult of masculinity, has implications beyond the family and affects politics, organization, administrative styles and human interaction at all levels of society.[8] Acting like a man is important, no matter what one's status in the society, and in addition to the connotations of aggressiveness and sexual potency, the Latin conception of machismo has meant a person with courage and daring.

Political institutions throughout Latin America are modeled on those of Western democracies and on a theoretical level, Latin Americans can be said to value democratic procedures. With few exceptions, however, the power values of democracy have not been internalized and authoritarian power values tend to dominate. Widely shared power is a conception which has not really taken hold, and decision making has been traditionally left to a single person or a small group.

Wells, in his description of Puerto Rico, describes the people of that island as evidencing a great deal of individuality, to such a degree that involvement in organized groups is severely limited. Collective action, teamwork and group discipline have not been a traditional part of Puerto Rican culture and other observers have pointed to similar situations throughout Latin America. A related characteristic is that of personal contact, rather than the impersonal institutional relationships which dominate North American culture. Following an individual leader has benerally been more prevalent than following a political ideology.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

[1]Victor Alba, The Latin Americans (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1969), p. 3.

[2]Henry Wells, The Modernization of Puerto Rico (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 6.

[3]Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Scientific Study of Values," in University of Toronto Installation Lectures, 1958, Northrop Frye, Clyde Kluckhohn and V. B. Wigglesworth (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 25.

[4]Seymour Martin Lipset, "Values, Education and Entrepreneurship," in Elites in Latin America, Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 3.

[5]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[6]Thomas C. Cochran, The Puerto Rican Businessman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 131.

[7]John P. Gillen, "Some Signposts for Policy," in Social Change in Latin America Today: Its Implications for United States Policy, Richard N. Adams et al. (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 47.

[8]Aniceto Aramoni, "Machismo," Psychology Today, 5, no. 8 (January 1972), '69-72.

years or more of Nicaragua's independence. It was their fighting that led to the American soldier-of-fortune William Walker's having himself elected president in 1856. And it was also the conflict between the two parties that led to the American Marines entering the country in 1909. The Constitution of 1911 reflected the American presence with its guarantee of the separation of powers, free elections, prohibition against Presidential self-succession and guarantees of procedural and civil rights for all Nicaraguan citizens. A Conservative President was elected in 1932, with the United States supervising the elections; however, the National Guard under General Anastasio Tacho Somoza toppled the government in 1936, and since that time the Somoza family has been in power.[2]

The form of government, on paper, is democratic and representative. Few observers, however, find much democracy or representation in the country. The opposition party is guaranteed one-third representation in the national Congress with the Liberals having been in power for the past 40 years. The opposition has been primarily the Conservative party, along with a few small third parties. There has been little effective opposition to the Somoza family and the Liberal party throughout the history of the past 40 years. The most recent Constitution permits a second term for the President, in this case the son of the Anastasio Somoza Garcia, Anastasio Somoza Debayle. It is expected that the current President will serve from 1974 through the end of his first term in 1980, and be re-elected until 1986.

Extensive military powers are given to the President with his being designated as Commander in Chief of the National Guard. It is his right

to appoint officers in the armed services and if necessary to institute compulsory induction into the military. When needed, the President is given the right to call on emergency powers as was done following the 1972 earthquake and during periodic political crises during the past 40 years. The President also has the right to make regulations which carry the weight of law, in addition to which he or his ministers may actively participate in introducing legislation, in debate and other aspects of Congressional action. The President is in charge of foreign relations and thus has the power to recognize or withhold recognition of foreign governments, to enter into foreign treaties and to expel foreign nationals or grant political asylum to aliens coming to Nicaragua. The President is assisted by a Council of Ministers who are in charge of the various departments within the government. The legislature consists of two houses and is popularly elected by the people. With the party in power being guaranteed a two-thirds majority, this effectively assures Presidential-Congressional cooperation in policy making. This has led some to criticize the legislature as strictly an arm of the executive branch. The judicial branch which is headed by a Supreme Court, also contains a labor court, court of appeals, department, district, municipal, and local courts. Justices are political appointees with members of the opposition party being guaranteed membership on the highest court.

The Nicaraguan government also contains a fourth branch, designated as the Electoral Power. This was due to the historical difficulty that Nicaragua has had in having free national elections. The supreme electoral tribunal was created by the Constitution of 1950, and oversees national elections to prevent electoral fraud and to declare the winners in any

election. Universal suffrage is guaranteed to all individuals over 21 or those who are literate or married. Those who have academic degrees are given the right to vote at the age of 18. Universal suffrage may be abrogated by a decree of the President in time of "national emergency."

Parties organized on an international basis such as the Communist party are outlawed, with only those international parties seeking union with other Central American countries as a goal permitted to exist.

Nicaragua is a unitary political system, as there are no political divisions shich share power with the national government. It is divided into 16 departments and 122 municipalities. These municipalities are in turn divided into comarcas which in turn are divided into cantones. The department is headed by a political chief, a departmental judge, and a departmental military commander. The political chief and military commander are appointed by the President of the nation, while the departmental judge is elected by the national legislature. There is little power at the local level. Local governments maintain certain roads and have certain supervisory responsibilities, and any taxes raised locally may be used locally; however, most power rests with the national government.[3]

Politics

As mentioned in the previous section, since the early 19th century political activity has been a struggle between essentially two parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals. There have been a variety of branches and break-offs from these two groups, but they have been the essentially dominant forces in Nicaraguan politics throughout its history.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL VALUES

Government

Although the Nicaraguan Constitution defines a separation of powers between the judicial, legislative and executive branches, for the past 40 years the country has had a dominant executive branch. The Presidency has been supported by a loyal military establishment. The National Guard was founded in the 1930's with United States assistance and has become a dominant political factor. The Somoza family came to power in 1936, and has effectively controlled the country since that time. Either a Somoza, a relative, or a close ally in the Liberal party has been in control of the government for the past 40 years. The country is on its ninth Constitution since its independence in 1821. The Constitution of 1950 was replaced in 1973. Among other things, it provides for such rights as a writ of habeas corpus, public trial, right to counsel and freedoms of religion, speech, conscience and assembly. The right to property is also guaranteed, and although the Constitution of 1950 called for abolition of latifundios, there has not been extensive agrarian reform in the country. Social Security benefits are outlined and an extensive labor code exists to supplement the Constitutional provision.[1]

A dominant political reality throughout the 19th and early 20th century was the competition between the Liberals headquartered in Leon and the Conservatives based in Granada. These two political parties staged coups, countercoups and engaged in civil war throughout the first 100

The current parties are known as the National Liberal (Partido Liberal Nacionalista - PLN) which has been in control as the Liberal party, since the election of Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1967. In 1957, the traditional Conservative party abstained from the elections and since that time the Nicaraguan Conservative Party or Partido Conservador Nicaraguense - PCN has been the group representing the Conservatives in congress. The Conservatives have traditionally stood for a strong central executive, the union of church and state, and state control of commercial enterprises, while Liberals have called for a strong national legislature, secularized state and laissez-faire capitalism. In reality, however, these principals have long since lost their meaning and today, both parties tend to hold to a secularized state. With the reality of a strong executive, the Liberal position in favor of a powerful Congress has never taken hold. In fact, the current Liberals ordinarily prefer a much stronger centralized control and state directed economic activity. The liberals have controlled the government since 1937, and their elections have been by very large margins with strong support in rural areas and the growing middle class. Conservative support has primarily come from the upper class, although attempts have been made to add members of other social classes. An example of the overwhelming control of the Liberal party was the 1963 election in which the liberals garnered 408,000 votes to only 42,000 by the conservatives. Some of the reasons for this tremendous disparity will be discussed when looking at the research on political values in Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan Socialist Party and a Communist Party have attempted to attract members of the lower middle and working classes in the capital

city, even though the Communist party is banned by the Constitution. Some support has been found among the workers' confederation of Nicaragua for the leftist groups. Since 1957, the Nicaraguan Social Christian Party has attempted to become politically relevant. It has been unable to make any real inroads into the traditional political parties, however. Various groups on the left have come and gone over the 40 years since the Somozas took over the country, with many of them looking to Augusto Sandino as their inspiration. The military, as represented by the National Guard, which is by constitutional law the only armed force in the country, has been a major political factor, and has intervened from time to time to suppress political groups which sought to achieve their objectives through extra-legal means. The National Guard has been loyal to the Somoza family throughout most of its history, with the current President having served as Commander-in-Chief prior to his election and during an interim period from 1972 to 1974, when he stepped down in order that a new Constitution could be written to permit him to run again. Recently, the National Guard has been involved in attempts to prevent guerrilla activity in the mountainous areas. It is due to their presence and their loyalty that Nicaragua has sustained 40 years of political stability.

Another force outside of the traditional political parties has been the Roman Catholic Church. Although the Church has traditionally been identified with the Conservative party, it maintained somewhat cordial relations with the Liberals, until recent years, when it has begun to speak out against political and social injustice within the country.

A third source of political power has been the students and the workers. With the rapid expansion of the University of Nicaragua in the

1960's and 1970's, and the attraction of leftist groups for the young of the country, there has been opposition to Somoza and Liberal control. In addition, there has been some infiltration of the workers and students by the Communist Party, although a government-sponsored workers organization has gained increasing control.[4]

Another source of opposition has been the press, as evidenced by La Prensa, the largest daily in Managua and the country. La Prensa has traditionally been a Conservative newspaper and has been permitted a great deal of editorial freedom throughout its history. It has, however, been censored many times by Somoza and members of various Liberal regimes. Freedom of the written press is greater than freedom of the spoken press, and thus one finds the television and radio stations much more closely controlled by the government. Some have suggested that this is due to the large numbers of people in the country who are illiterate, with estimates ranging from 40 to 60%. Although freedom of expression and the inviolability of correspondence is guaranteed by the Constitution, there is a clause which states that the law shall regulate their exercise and duration. This one catch has been used many times to censor newspapers, books, magazines, and to open mail of those in political opposition to the government. During times of martial law, which have appeared quite regularly throughout the history of Nicaragua, they may also be superseded. It also appears that during times of national elections there is greater censorship of the press than at other times. The Liberal party has its own newspaper, Novedades, and magazines, radio and television stations.

As has been indicated earlier, a major factor in the political life of Nicaragua has been its foreign relations and foreign interventions. Two factors have dominated much of the foreign policy of the country: first of all, the drive for Central American political union which achieved some semblance with the Central American Common Market, and secondly, the desire for an interoceanic canal through Nicaraguan territory. The United States had the rights to build such a canal until 1972, when by mutual agreement the treaty was abrogated by both countries. The pursuit of these two goals has led to intervention by other countries into Nicaragua and by Nicaragua into some of its neighbors. Throughout the 19th century, the various attempts at political union failed and the current status would indicate that political union of the Central American countries is a long way off. Nicaragua's relations with Costa Rica and Honduras have been characterized largely by disputes of political intervention and boundary questions up into the 1960's. Currently, the relations between the countries, however, appear to be quite stable. The dominant power in the country, however, has been the United States. This dominance began in the 1850's when William Walker had himself declared President, Vanderbilt's interventions, the American Marine activities from 1909 into the 1930's, and the current strength of American investments and military aid.

Political Values, Attitudes and Beliefs

The relationship between the government of Nicaragua and its people has traditionally been a paternalistic one, with the people looking for protection and welfare from the State, and the State expecting loyalty

from its people. Much of this is no doubt due to the 40 years of stability brought about by control of the Liberal party and the Somoza family. It was to the questions of paternalism, national pride, equality, ideology-democracy and related political concepts, that many questions in the research were directed. Two instruments will be discussed in some detail in this chapter and questions from several others will also be looked at as they relate to political attitudes. The first instrument to which we shall refer is the "Culture Belief Systems Test." The sample, for this particular instrument, consisted of 210 secondary and university students; 133 in the ciclo basico and ciclo diversificado, the equivalent of junior and senior high school, and 77 students from the National University, UNAN and the private Jesuit University, UCA. Both private and public secondary students were sampled, as were the Catholic, Spanish-speaking west coast and the Protestant English-speaking east coast. University students were all in the field of education and many were practicing teachers. The students in the sample ranged in ages from 15 to 50 with most in the 14 to 21 age group. They were equally divided between males and females and between Catholics and non-Catholics. The non-Catholics were either Protestant or claimed to have no religious background. The students generally came from families in which the parents had some education, although the amount of education of the parents was generally only about six years.

Interpretation of the Data

One of the purposes of asking Question No. 13 concerning the need for power in the hands of political leaders was an attempt to get at the

Table 4:1

Political Attitudes

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
13. It is very important that our political leaders have a great deal of power in order to do their jobs properly.	20.0	17.1	16.2	13.8	29.5	3.3	3.163	1.534
18. It is better to vote for a man whom you know personally but with whose principles you disagree, than to vote for a man you don't know personally but who has the same beliefs you do.	13.8	10.0	9.5	10.0	54.8	1.9	3.835	1.521
29. Political power should be spread among as many people as possible.	40.0	12.9	17.6	6.2	21.9	1.4	2.565	1.590
30. Political power should be given to one man or a small group of people.	16.7	11.9	16.2	11.9	41.4	1.9	3.505	1.539
49. Democracy is a nice goal, but it is not really possible to attain.	26.7	18.6	18.1	11.4	21.4	3.8	2.817	1.513
50. Only people with at least a primary school education should be allowed to vote.	20.5	15.2	8.6	9.0	44.8	1.9	3.432	1.654
51. Only people who own property should be allowed to vote.	3.8	1.9	3.8	5.2	82.4	2.9	4.652	.0948
52. Change and reform are generally good for the country.	50.5	17.1	16.7	6.2	7.6	1.9	2.015	1.282
58. Decisions arrived at by group consensus are generally superior to those made by one individual.	56.7	16.7	6.7	3.8	11.9	4.3	1.930	1.395
62. People only work for the interest of their community or government when it is to their own financial benefit to do so.	21.4	24.8	14.3	14.8	16.2	8.6	2.776	1.428
63. It is expected that officials will take bribes.	42.9	8.1	11.4	5.2	25.2	7.1	2.590	1.710

reactions of Nicaraguans towards the long-term rule of the Liberal Party and the Somoza family and the overwhelming amount of power in their hands. Although the results of that question indicate a broad range of attitudes on the topic, there is a weighting towards those who disagree with the need for a strong central political power. Some of this is possibly due to the growing frustration on the part of the educated Nicaraguans, with their inability to participate meaningfully in the political process. It may also evidence the internalization of more democratic attitudes towards participation of the general populace in the political process.

Questions 29 and 30, dealing with spread of political power among as broad a group as possible or giving political power to one man or a small group, indicates a growing acceptance on the part of Nicaraguan youth for the concepts of political participation as opposed to autocratic or oligarchic rule. They are also an evidence that democratic values, those opposed to traditional authoritarian values, seem to be making some headway among the educated young in the country. With the power of the society so deeply centralized in the hands of the wealthy class and the military, it is not unexpected that the youth of the country might feel some frustration about their inability to participate in a meaningful way in the political process. In Nicaragua, as in many other countries of Latin America, the large majority profess a democratic ideology and model their institutions on those of western democratic states. This is seen in their constitutions, their laws and in the ways in which democratic procedures and patterns are valued. Some observers, however, have questioned the extent to which democratic

power values have been internalized. Due to the hierarchical nature of the church, the economic system, and the heritage from the colonial period, there are not a great many examples within the societies in which democratic power values are dominant. In modern western democracies power is generally regarded as something evil, or at least as something which must be widely shared and clearly limited, in contrast to the traditional hispanic predeliction for personal authority.

It has been suggested that one of the reasons why the forms of democracy throughout Latin America have little effect on actual political behavior is that the Latin American feels that it is important to have an intimate personal relationship to a person and, if possible, a kinship relationship, in order to get something done. One does not trust strangers in positions of power. Power embodied in an institution or power exercised by a faceless, nameless bureaucrat is regarded as an affront to personal dignity or as a menace to individual freedom of action. Numerous observers have pointed out that it is preferable to leave the decision-making process to a single person in whom one has confidence, than to share that power widely. This reliance upon the individual leader or "caudillo" is also seen in the desire of people to follow a man rather than a doctrine or ideology.

Question 18 was attempting to get at some of these reputed Latin American values. A strong majority disagreed with the concepts of personalism in which you vote for the man rather than for the ideology, and it appears that at least the educated young of Nicaragua are adopting a more universalistic value when it comes to voting behavior. The educated young also reject quite strongly, limitations on the right to vote, with nearly 90 percent disagreeing with the statement that only property

owners should be allowed to vote, and over 50 percent disagreeing that only those with a primary school education should be allowed to vote. These are a further indication of change in attitude, quite possibly due to the educational system through which the students were moving.

The responses to Question No. 49, that democracy is a nice goal, but it is not really possible to attain can be interpreted in several ways. There was a wide spread in the response, with a near even distribution from strongly agree to strongly disagree. One interpretation might suggest that Nicaraguan youth are really not committed to the concept of democracy and thus reject it out of hand. A more probable interpretation, however, would be that given 40 years of one party, one family rule, the young people of Nicaragua are suggesting that at least in the foreseeable future, given the power realities of the country, democracy is not a real possibility. The second interpretation would seem to be borne out by the response to Question 52, in which an extremely large majority of the respondents were in favor of change and reform for their country. This would seem to indicate that although they would like to see change occur, they recognize the political realities which are preventing that change from occurring.

Questions 62 and 63 attempt to get at some of the concepts brought out by Edward G. Banfield in his The Moral Basis of a Backward Society.[5] Banfield, in his research in southern Italy, hypothesized many things about societies attempting to modernize and organize. He rejects many traditional explanations for poverty and the lack of organization, such the poor are ignorant, they are just attempting to survive, or their

extreme fatalism,[6] and hypothesizes that "peasants will act in most situations to maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family and assume all others will do likewise." He defines this behavior as an "amoral familist" or if the individual has no family, as an "amoral individualist." Banfield hypothesizes that the amoral familist will only defer to the interests of the group or the community, as it is to his own advantage to do so and that only officials will concern themselves with public affairs, for they are the only ones paid to do so.[7]

Observers have indicated that Banfield's hypotheses bear some semblance to reality in Nicaraguan culture. Another of Banfield's hypotheses is that the law will be disregarded when there is no reason to fear punishment, and that officeholders will take bribes if they can get away with it.[8] These are borne out by the reality of Nicaraguan society, and also by the strong agreement of Nicaraguan young people, who expect that officials will and do take bribes. This hypothesis that the weak will favor a regime which will maintain order with a strong hand[9] is also borne out by the large numbers of even educated youth in Nicaragua, who see the need for a great deal of political power in the hands of the few.

Banfield suggests that there will be no connection between abstract political principles, i.e., ideology, and concrete behavior in the ordinary relationships of everyday life.[10] Nicaragua would appear to be a good example of the truth of such a hypothesis. Abstract ideology has never been strong in Nicaragua, although high sounding phrases and Socialist or even Communist rhetoric has been used, even by those in official positions. There is, however, such a discrepancy between ideology

and reality in practical affairs, that ideology has tended to be discredited in the eyes of the Nicaraguan poor.

Two others of Banfield's hypotheses state that the amoral familist will use his ballot to secure the greatest material gain in the short run and will place little confidence in the promise of the parties that will be asked to use his ballot.[11] These attitudes can be found among the Nicaraguan poor. It has been reported that in many elections, ten Cordoba, the equivalent of $1.42, and a bottle of Santa Cecilia liquor are all that is needed to secure the vote of the rural peasants. It is assumed by the general populace that whatever group is in power is self-serving and corrupt, and thus to take a gift for political reasons won't change reality. Banfield suggests that for modern societies to develop, to organize and enter the modern world, some of these traits must be broken down. The evidence from our sample of Nicaraguan youth would seem to indicate that some of the attitudes are breaking down. However, observations of rural campesinos would indicate that the vast majority of the Nicaraguan rural poor still remain in highly unorganized, distrustful relationships with the central power. Numerous observers of the Nicaraguan political scene have pointed out the small number of Nicaraguans, who actively participate in the political process. Although tens or even hundreds of thousands may vote at election time, the country is effectively run by a small oligarchy.

Individuals observe a chance for social mobility or rising within the society, that many of the characteristics of the amoral familist fall by the wayside. As a government moves into community development projects and the schools are improved, community action begins to take place, and

many traditional values are broken down. The responses of the rising middle class youth in the Nicaraguan schools would seem to indicate the truth of some of Banfield's observations about the possibilities for change within countries such as Nicaragua.

A Concept of Equality

In both the Latin American and North American contexts the word equality is used a great deal, and both cultures place a high value on individuality and the person, but there are great differences between the actual meanings of the words equality and individuality in the two cultures. Whereas North Americans emphasize the equality of opportunity and the creation or birth of equal men, the Latin American emphasis is upon the uniqueness of each man in his inner essence. Due to the hierarchical tradition within Latin America this inner emphasis, or emphasis upon the uniqueness of each individual, permits the society to maintain the social distinctions between individuals. In the North American tradition a greater emphasis is placed upon the broad similarities among various social types, while in the Latin American tradition the individual differences are emphasized. The concept of ascription ties in here. People within Latin society, in the traditional culture, tend to accept their station in life. Inherited or ascribed social status is an unalterable fact of human existence. The concept of "dignidad" does not have the social justice implications within traditional Latin society that it has within the North American context. These conceptions of equality have their historical base in the hierarchical nature of the colonial era in

Latin America, the contemporary latifundia and within the hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church.

Six questions on the instrument dealt in some way with the conception of equality in Latin America, and are shown in Table 4:2.

The wide disagreement on question 3 concerning men's being born equal could be due to several factors. It is possible that there is a change in the conception of equality on the part of a significant percentage of educated young people, or it could be that the phrase does not make any sense in a Nicaraguan setting, as it is one taken from the United States Constitution. The strong agreement on question 4 concerning equal amounts of this world's material goods would seem to be in line with the traditional conception of the distribution of wealth in Latin America. There is, however, a significant difference at the .05 level, between the older and the younger students, with the older students holding that the wealth should be more equally distributed among the people of the society. This is no doubt due to their contact with ideas of social justice, socialism and the redistribution of wealth in other countries of the world. Question 5 is almost a truism in Latin American culture, and the overwhelming agreement with this statement could be expected on an instrument such as this. There was a significant difference, however, between Catholics and non-Catholics at the .01 level, which might indicate that the world of the spirit is more important to Catholic students.

The overwhelming rejection of the statement that wealthy people deserve more respect than poor people is once again very much in keeping

Table 4:2

Concept of Equality

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
3. All men are created equal.	33.3	11.0	1.9	7.1	40.0	6.7	3.102	1.828
4. It is only natural that all men not have the same amount of money.	63.3	8.6	5.7	4.8	15.2	2.4	1.976	1.523
5. The inner worth, the spirit of man is of greater importance than his wealth.	89.0	4.8	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.188	.674
11. Wealthy people deserve more respect than poor people.	2.9	4.3	2.4	3.8	84.8	1.9	4.665	.942
12. Older people deserve more respect than young people.	49.5	13.8	4.3	4.3	27.1	1.0	2.452	1.730
27. All men should be treated equally before the law.	78.1	6.2	3.3	2.4	9.0	1.0	1.567	1.249

with the Latin conception of the dignity of each individual, be he rich or be he poor. The split, however, on question 12 concerning the respect for age gives some indication of a possible change in Latin values. In traditional society the older members of the family, or of the village, are accorded greater respect than the young. This, however, seems to be a value that is changing as the young demand equal respect. There is some indication that at least in Nicaragua and probably in other Latin societies things such as the generation gap between the newly educated young and their uneducated or undereducated parents are a growing phenomenon and will cause problems in the future. Strong agreement on question 27 concerning equal treatment before the law would indicate a basic acceptance of a democratic value position. Some observers of Latin America have suggested that although the concepts of democracy are often stated, they are not often practiced. This criticism, however, could be made of any democratic society in the world today.

One can conclude from the responses to these statements that although the respondents reacted in a generally predictable fashion there's a changing conception on some dimensions of the meaning of equality among the educated in Nicaragua.

Extremism Scale

The sample used in the study of political attitudes and extremism consisted of 55% secondary students in their last year of secondary school and 45% university students preparing to become or already practicing as teachers. The age varied from 17 years to 52 years of age, with the vast majority being between the age of 15 and 22, that is 86% in that category.

The sample consisted of 31% males and 69% females, was overwhelmingly Catholics, 81%, and interestingly enough, 78% of the sample claimed to be a member of no political party. Only 9% were members of the Liberal ruling party, 4 1/2% Conservative and 4 1/2%, no political party. The following discussion and interpretation will deal with Table 4:3.

The responses to the instrument on political attitudes and extremism are similar to those found on the "Culture Belief Systems Test," although they deal with certain other ideas. They are similar in the sense that there appears to be a great deal of ambivalence on many of the items. The instrument uses a 6-point Likert scale rather than the 5-point used on the "Culture Belief System Test," and thus the means on any item should not be compared.

The results on question No. 1 dealing with the attitudes toward democracy and who should run a country, indicate that almost 70% of the sample agree that democracy is the highest form of government, but that it should be run by the most intelligent. This might be due to the fact that students in their fifth year of secondary school are only about 1 to 2% of their age group, and those at the university are less than 1%. The statement, however, contains two ideas and thus is a little more difficult to interpret than might be the case if it were less ambiguous.

On the question of freedom of speech in Question 2 the sample seems rather widely split although a slight majority disagree that freedom of speech should be restricted for certain political groups. In the society at large, however, one would predict a very strong agreement with this statement, thus indicating that the more educated in the society generally hold to slightly more liberal attitudes as far as civil liberties are concerned.

Table 4.3

Extremism Scale

	Agree Very Much	Agree on the Whole	Agree a Little	Disagree a Little	Disagree on the Whole	Disagree Very Much	Mean	Standard Deviation
1. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.	29.9	17.9	23.9	11.9	4.5	11.9	27.9	1.66
2. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.	20.9	10.4	14.9	11.9	9.0	32.8	3.75	1.99
3. While the use of force is wrong by and large, it is sometimes the only way possible to advance a noble ideal.	22.4	16.4	20.9	13.4	6.0	20.9	3.27	1.81
4. It is natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.	26.9	23.9	23.9	11.9	7.5	6.0	2.67	1.48
5. In a heated discussion, I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what others are saying.	17.9	9.0	19.4	13.4	13.4	26.9	3.76	1.84
6. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.	58.2	10.4	11.9	10.4	3.0	6.0	2.06	1.56

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Table 4:3 (Continued)

	Agree Very Much	Agree on the Whole	Agree a Little	Disagree a Little	Disagree on the Whole	Disagree Very Much	Mean	Standard Deviation
7. Most people are failures and it is the system which is responsible for it.	26.9	9.0	22.4	14.9	17.9	9.0	3.13	1.71
8. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stood for.	28.4	7.5	16.4	19.4	13.4	14.9	3.24	1.85
9. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.	41.8	16.4	14.9	10.4	3.0	13.4	2.57	1.77
10. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.	32.8	14.9	14.9	9.0	10.4	17.9	3.03	1.91
11. The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.	31.3	26.9	9.0	11.9	7.5	13.4	2.78	1.77
12. A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.	31.3	20.9	11.9	17.9	6.0	11.9	2.82	1.72

Table 4:3 (Continued)

	Agree Very Much	Agree on the Whole	Agree a Little	Disagree a Little	Disagree on the Whole	Disagree Very Much	Mean	Standard Deviation
13. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.	41.8	14.9	11.9	7.5	10.4	13.4	2.70	1.87
14. I sometimes have a tendency to be too critical of the ideas of others.	26.9	14.9	32.8	16.4	-	9.00	2.75	1.47
15. In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.	14.9	10.4	17.9	14.9	20.9	20.9	3.79	1.73
16. Young people should not have too easy access to books which are likely to confuse them.	13.4	4.5	11.9	32.8	7.5	29.9	4.06	1.68
17. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.	4.5	3.0	7.5	20.9	25.4	38.8	4.76	1.36
18. It is by returning to our glorious and forgotten past that real social progress can be achieved.	14.9	4.5	10.4	14.9	10.4	44.8	4.31	1.95
19. It is sometimes necessary to resort to force to advance an ideal one strongly believes in.	23.9	16.4	19.4	22.4	7.5	10.4	3.05	1.62
20. Middle-class children tend to have more important responsibilities at an earlier age than "disadvantaged" children.	11.9	4.9	7.5	13.4	13.4	4.93	4.60	1.77

On the "Culture Belief System Test," a strong majority of the students rejected the use of force to bring about political change. On the extremism scale a slight majority agreed that force could be used as it at times is the only possible way to advance a noble idea. Part of the reason for the attitude towards force might be due to the inability of guerrilla movements and opposition to the current government to make any headway over the past 40 years. Student groups have been forcefully closed down, and guerrillas in the mountains have been dealt with forcefully by the National Guard. The feeling on the part of many, even among the students, that force will not work is the result of such a reality.

Question No. 7 concerns the concept of fate, and whether people have any control over their success or failure. The concept of fate will be dealt with in more detail in another place; however, a majority of Nicaraguan youth seem to believe that it is the system which is at fault for failure. This would indicate a further disenchantment with the current regime and a frustration on the part of many of the young people.

In spite of the feeling that change is difficult, that the system leads to failure, Nicaraguan youth show a great deal of idealism, as evidenced by their response to question number 9 in which life takes on meaning and purpose when a person devotes himself to an idea or a cause. Over 70 percent of the sample agreed with that statement. Thus, in spite of overwhelming political realities, Nicaraguan youth still maintain a sense of purpose.

The response of the student sample to compromise with political opponents was very strongly in agreement that such action is dangerous as it may lead to betrayal. Evidence from their own political system and throughout much of Latin American would tend to make Nicaraguan youth realistic, when it comes to politics and their response on this question would indicate that realism.

Their response to question number 11 in which one does not attack publicly people who believe in the same thing as you do, is very much a part of Latin American culture in general and of Nicaraguan culture specifically. One's political or other relationships are important to maintain.

A strong majority of over 60 percent agree on question 12, that too much difference of opinion among the members of the group cannot be tolerated. This squares with some observations of Nicaraguan political life and culture, which indicate the difficulties that cultures, in which one man or an oligarchy rule, have in permitting differences in opinion, and the difficulties that individuals have in expressing themselves or permitting differences to exist.

Question 15 indicates a tendency towards moving away from dependence upon leaders and experts and taking control of one's own existence. Although the opinions are quite scattered, there is a slight majority in favor of self reliance. This, once again, is a characteristic more true of those who are educated than it would be among the rural poor. The educated young strongly object to censorship, with a strong majority of almost 70% disagreeing with the statement, that access to books should be limited.

Traditional Latin American culture is seen as a very present oriented phenomenon, even though politicians like to refer to the grand and glorious past. Both the future and the past orientation appear to be rejected by Nicaraguan youth, indicating their desire to live in the present and achieve change if possible. Question 19 once again provides support for the idea of the use of force as a possibility of change.

Although most attempts at correlating sex, religion, age, politics and other items with the responses were not significant at the .05 or .01 levels, a few items did correlate on the extremism scale. On question 1, Catholic students were significantly more in agreement on the need for a government run by the more intelligent. Catholicity also correlated significantly on question 2 concerning restrictions on the freedom of speech. These reactions would seem to be in line with other observations of Latin American culture, in which the church has traditionally been more conservative in its reactions toward government and civil liberties, than other sectors of the society. As will be pointed out in the next chapter, however, the Nicaraguan church has changed a great deal in recent years and has become considerably more liberal or even radical in its approaches. Political party affiliation was only significant on question 2, with members of the ruling Liberal party desiring a restriction on the freedom of certain political groups. This reaction is predictable, given the nature of the Nicaraguan political realities. Those who had traveled abroad were significantly more in agreement than were others, that the system is responsible for failures, not the individual himself. This is also predictable, due to the internationally

mobile population having seen alternative systems of government and the possibilities within those systems. Only one other significant difference was found, and that was on question 15 in which the better the student was in his academic achievement, the more he disagreed with the need to rely on leaders and experts.

In a society such as Nicaragua, traditional and modern values can co-exist in unintegrated and unstable mixtures that provide changing, uncertain, and inconsistent guides to action. Each social class tends to have its own value pattern, which differs from the others in its particular mix of traditional and modern political value components. The educated youth in the samples on the two instruments dealt with in this chapter are no doubt significantly different in their attitudes from the vast poor, rural population, the urban working class population, or the ruling upper class. One must be careful in making generalizations to the society as a whole from the professed values of the youth in the secondary schools and universities of Nicaragua. Although the youth of Nicaragua exhibit values on political participation, the elite which runs the country sees the desirability of restricting that participation in the decision-making process and enjoying the obedience and submission of the rest of the society. The rural poor of Nicaragua tend to go along with the elite in this restricted participation. Nicaragua, through its constitution and other political institutions, professes a democratic ideology, modeled on those of Western democratic states. Democratic patterns of sharing and shaping power, however, have not been developed. This would indicate that neither the elite, nor the non-elite have internalized democratic power values very thoroughly.

Authoritarian values inherited from colonial times are still operational. The Nicaraguan political system thus appears to be inconsistent. Various types of admired personalities are derived from the high value attached to "personalism." The "macho" type is expected to have a great deal of zest for action, to be daring, self-confident and to show sexual prowess. The political leadership of Nicaragua is replete with examples of the caudillo, macho syndrome. The patron system of the hacienda is still the dominant pattern of behavior, not only within the government, but in many sectors of the society, due to a tradition of the church, the colonial system, and present realities. This emphasis on hierarchy can be found throughout the society. As was pointed out on some of the questions, the future elites, those educated in the schools at the secondary and university level, appear to be breaking down some aspects of personalism and hierarchy, but the society at large has not given these up.

As with many other Latin American societies, Nicaragua appears to suffer from the tendency to feel that the job is finished, when written or verbal expression has been given to an ideal through a constitution, a new law, or a party declaration. All too often the verbalized ideals have not been put into action, thus leading to some of the cynicism evidenced on the questions dealt with in this chapter.

Nicaraguans tend to under-evaluate national products and national potential and to over-evaluate those things American or European. Evidence of this inferiority complex was found on three questions on the "Culture Belief Systems Test" in which respondents were asked whether products made in Nicaragua were superior to those made in other countries,

and whether their culture was superior to that of the rest of Latin America. On both items the Nicaraguan youth were strongly in disagreement. They were somewhat split on whether it was safer to put one's money into a savings account in Nicaragua than to send it to another country. These three indicate some of the frustrations which Nicaraguan youth feel about corrupt or ineffective political regimes.

Throughout Latim America there has been a tendency towards a passive acceptance of poor conditions in the political, economic or other sectors of the society. Action has often been delayed until the problems reached a breaking point, producing a bloody revolution. Seldom, however, have revolutions in Latin America done anything more than to substitute one form of authoritarian regime for another, with the cycle continuing. Nicaraguan youth are cognizant of this trend and thus somewhat ambivalent about the need for change.

Nicaraguans tend to maintain certain ritualistic vestiges of respect for authority. The use of titles, such as General, Doctor, Licenciado, are examples of this ritual. Along with this ritualistic respect for authority, however, there is an ongoing attempt to outmaneuver that authority or the system. If one can get away without paying taxes or if one has a friend in "court," one should take advantage of such things. This attitude of the need to outmaneuver or fight authority and yet the desire for the "man on horseback," might help to explain the subtle combination of respect and hate which Nicaraguans have for their political and military leaders. It also explains some of the mixed emotions which Nicaraguans have towards the United States and its great economic and military power.

In Nicaragua, the traditional political triumvirate of large landowners, the Army and the church has given way to a new urban based economic,

political and military elite. The masses, however, are left outside of any meaningful political participation and power has remained concentrated at the top.

Nicaraguan youth, as evidenced on some of the questions in the instruments, appear to be rejecting traditional "living in the past." The glories of the Conservative and Liberal struggles of the 19th century no longer hold much meaning, while the problems of the present have taken on a new urgency. Observers have suggested that a common problem in Latin America is that many live on two different planes at once: one of action and the other of word or thought.[12] The Latin American acts in one way and thinks in another. In politics this leads to acceptance of the idea that once a law has been made, the problem has been solved or ceases to exist, no matter how obvious the persistence of the problem might be. In Nicaragua countless evidences of this exist. A social security law has been passed, yet the majority of people are not covered by it. Laws concerning civil liberties are on the books, but are consistently violated. Laws or constitutional provisions are changed to meet the desires of the elite on a fairly regular basis. Their social legislation is among the most advanced in the world, and yet poverty and exploitation can be found on every hand. Excellent laws are passed which are clear, logical and minutely detailed, but have little to do with the realities of life. One thus finds a mixture of respect and contempt for the law everywhere.

Much research on political socialization throughout the world indicates that education tends to increase people's acceptance of democratic

values, processes and institutions. It also leads to a greater involvement in the political process. It has also been pointed out that political tolerance, support for civil liberties, and opposition to authoritarian, political leaders and groups tends to increase with education. There is a corresponding decline in confidence, however, in governments and electoral systems, as the educated youth tend to become much more cynical about the political realities of their countries.[13] The student reactions on the instruments cited in this chapter would seem to bear out these truisms.

Almond and Verba categorized cultures as parochial, subject, participant and combinations of these such as parochial subject or subject participant. The parochial, political culture is characterized by an absence of expectations of change in the political system. The individual in this culture does not perceive himself as a political actor. At the other end of the scale the participant in political culture contains people who see themselves as actors and as bringing about change in the political system.[14] Nicaragua, like most of Latin America, finds itself with population at all three levels. The rural poor might be described as fitting still within the parochial, subject political culture, while the newly educated, although fitting within the subject category, are demanding meaningful participation within the political system. The results of the surveys indicate the growing expectations for change on the part of the educated Nicaraguan youth and as more and more students enter the secondary schools and universities, one can expect the rate of political change to rise dramatically in Nicaragua.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

[1]John Morris Ryan et al., Area Handbook for Nicaragua (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 154-156.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., pp. 157-167.

[4]Ibid., pp. 169-175.

[5]Edward G. Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society (New York: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 1-158.

[6]Ibid., p. 36

[7]Ibid., p. 83.

[8]Ibid., pp. 90-92.

[9]Ibid., p. 93

[10]Ibid., p. 96.

[11]Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[12]Victor Alba, The Latin Americans (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 43.

[13]Kenneth N. Walker, "Political Socialization in Universities," in Elites in Latin America, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset and Aldo Solari (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 408.

[14]Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 17.

CHAPTER 5

RELIGIOUS VALUES AND BELIEFS

History of the Church and Religion

The phrase has been used by a great many historians and observers of Latin America that although the continent is not especially Christian, it is "hopelessly Catholic." The Church was brought to the Americas in the 16th century by Jesuit missionaries from Spain and Portugal. It was not just religion, however, that was brought to the New World, but the culture of the Iberian peninsula, a culture which had its own version of Christianity, along with views of a symbiotic relationship between the State and the Church. Many of the ideas were hammered out in opposition to the Reformation. With the exception of the Aztec and Inca Empires, the Spanish and Portugese found numerous small tribal groups lacking in what the Europeans would call a higher culture. As a result, they felt they had no choice but to transplant almost the complete religious and cultural heritage of the Iberian Peninsula to the New World. This is not to say, however, that there was not a good deal syncretism in the form in which Christianity developed in the New World. In its paintings, liturgical ceremonies and other aspects, the church represented a partial fusion of cultures. The people of Latin America, however, were deeply rooted in the habits of a lifetime in their own culture, and as a result, a mixture of Christian and Pagan practices are still found in many parts of Latin America today. Examples of this

are found in Brazil and the Caribbean where African deities and Catholic Saints are still worshipped in much the same way.[1] Many historians have suggested with the wholesale movement of culture and religion from Spain what actually developed was not a Christian culture but a tremendous form without substance.

In Spain, religion, nationalism, and patriotism were synonymous. When this was brought to the New World, an interrelationship between the church and the state was developed throughout Latin America, which continues to plague parts of the content up to the present day. A related problem was that the Roman Catholic Church became identified with the oppressor class, even to the extent of acquiring huge tracts of land and reaping the benefit of free Indian labor. With this system, the large landowners came to think of the Church as their own. As long as the upper class controlled Latin America there was no great difficulty. However, when the masses started seeking political power and seizing control, the precarious nature of the Church became very evident.

Following the independence movements of the early 19th century, new Concordats were signed between the Republican governments and the Papacy. During the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church tended to ally itself with the Conservative political parties, which were developing, and its power in each of the countries waxed and waned depending upon the fortunes of the Conservatives. The Church became identified with the status quo, and as the continent braced itself for the profound changes of the 20th century, the church tended to lose touch with the masses of people.

Another problem which has dogged the Catholic Church through the continent for most of its history has been its lack of indigenous priests. No serious attempt was made to build up an indigenous ministry and very few priests were ordained that were not of pure European stock. Even to this day the Church in Latin America is dependent upon French, Spanish, Portuguese and other priests from abroad. Few mestizoes or mulattoes have been ordained into the priesthood.

The Nicaraguan Church

Among the countries of Central America, the Nicaraguan Church has held a fairly secure position throughout most of its history. Most dissensions which occurred between the Church and State have been settled amicably following the Concordat, which was signed with the Vatican in 1862. In that Concordat, the government assumed the obligation of supporting the Church. One evidence of the strength of clericalism in Nicaragua in the 19th century was the fact that in 1861, when the rest of Central America was in revolt against the church, the Nicaraguan government gave shelter to the Jesuits, who had been expelled from Guatemala. In 1881, however, the Jesuits, who had been involved in what were thought to be subversive acts, were expelled from the country. This, however, tended to be atypical. The Liberal regime of Santos Zelaya in 1894 terminated the Concordat and dissolved the union of Church and State in Nicaragua. Even though the Conservative Party did come back into power periodically in the early 20th century, the Church was never reinstated, and the union of Church and State was never again developed.

This relationship prevailed until 1950, when the Constitution of that year declared that the State had no official religion, guaranteed religious freedom and forbade any legislation protecting or restraining any particular faith. The Church is currently guaranteed the right to own and acquire property, and those properties devoted exclusively to religious use are exempt from taxation. The free exercise of religion is permitted by all, except as they oppose Christian morality and public order, and the State is prohibited from issuing laws which protect or restrain particular cults. The Catholic faith is regarded as the de facto religion and estimates range from 70 to 90 percent of the total population being considered Catholic. Diplomatic relations are maintained with the Vatican, and although the Church receives no subsidy from the government, it does receive some funds for the upkeep of some of its older churches that are considered national monuments.[2]

Public education is secular by law, although Catholic schools are permitted to exist, are well attended, and are among the best in the country. It is true, however, that most of the Catholic parochial schools are attended by the middle and upper classes, although there are a few run by religious orders particularly for the poor. The Jesuits founded a university in Managua, the Central American University, in 1961, to serve the higher educational needs of Catholics for all of Latin America.

Statistics

The Roman Catholic clergy in 1960 numbered 222, thus giving a ratio of parishioners to priests of 4,550 to 1. In addition, there is

a hierarchy consisting of one Archbishop and five Bishops.[3] The Protestant communicants of the country are estimated between 25,000 and 65,000, the latter figure giving it approximately 4 1/2% of the total population. Protestantism didn't establish itself until the mid-19th century, and is presently a major force only in the Atlantic Coast region in the Department of Zelaya. The major Protestant group, as a result of mission activity, is the Moravians on the east coast, followed by Baptists, Episcopalians, 7th Day Adventists, and numerous smaller groups, which have established themselves throughout the country.[4]

Nicaragua does not differ greatly from the rest of Latin America in its percentage of practicing Catholics. Estimates for Latin America are as low as 3.5% of church attenders for the male population and 9.5% for the female population.[5] The church in Nicaragua is not considered to be one of the strong Latin churches, such as those of Mexico, Costa Rica, Colombia and Argentina. Nor is it among the list of those where the church is considered to be dying, but for the most part Catholicism in Nicaragua tends to be a phenomenon of baptism and death with the vast majority never even achieving their first communion.

Some observers have suggested that the reasons for this have been that the conversions of the Indian Mestizo groups were far too easily effected. A Belgian Friar by the name of Peter of Ghent wrote in 1529 that he and a brother baptized over 200,000 people and upwards of 14,000 in a single day.[6] These mass conversions without intensive education and instruction and with the previously mentioned lack of an indigenous priesthood, led to the surface nature of much of Catholicism, as it is

found and practiced in Latin America today. Such a lack of true devotion on the part of Latin Americans in general has led to the view on the part of many Jesuits and Dominicans that although the continent is nominally Catholic it is ripe for Catholic missions. Some have even gone so far as to ask whether Latin America will be a Catholic continent in another generation.

Nicaraguan Religious Life

With the recognition that Nicaragua is a Catholic nation, even nominal Catholics and non-believers orient their work and social life around the calendar of religious holidays. Church attendance and other evidences of religious belief tend to be more dominant in the rural areas than in the cities and much more true of women than of men. Numerous women's organizations are to be found throughout the country, with the purpose of proper devotion to the patron saints and organizing the religious celebrations. Most of the remaining Indian tribes have become nominally Catholic and have formed various syncretistic views of the faith.[7] One estimate places the practicing Catholics in the country at 15 to 30% which would be considerably higher than that found in many countries of Latin America. It is also estimated that in the central highland area of the country, both men and women are more actively religious than along the lowlands of the Pacific coast.[8] Even non-practicing nominal Catholics sprinkle their conversation with religious terminology and consider themselves Catholic. Churches, many of which date back to the 19th century and before, can be found in most communities. In many homes, pictures of saints, candles, flowers, decorations and other symbols are

to be found. Active Catholics, primarily women in the countryside, say rosaries regularly and hold novenas on the occasion or in the memory of a family member's death. Baptisms, marriages and deaths are observed in a religious manner by the majority of the population. The major religious festivals or fiestas on the patron saint's day of each community are participated in by the members of that town and the surrounding rural area. "Visits" by the statues of saints are part of these religious festivals and the giving of alms is also another important religious action.[9]

Religious Attitudes

Religiosity is a complex phenomenon and it has been suggested by Charles Glock that it consists of four dimensions, the experiential, ideological, ritualistic, and consequential.[10] In the earlier section of this chapter the experiential, ritualistic and consequential have been dealt with to at least a minor extent. The research based on Putney and Middleton's "Dimensions of Religious Ideology," deals with the fourth aspect of religiosity, the ideological.[11] In their research in the United States, Putney and Middleton attempted to analyze the acceptance or rejection of the tenets of the Christian belief system, the orientation of the individual towards other persons with respect to his beliefs, the significance of a person's beliefs to his self-concept, and the degree to which the individual recognizes ambivalence in his beliefs. In order to get at these points, an orthodoxy scale, a fanaticism scale, and importance scale, and one question concerning ambivalence were created.

With the Nicaraguan sample the question of ambivalence was left out, but the questions on orthodoxy, fanaticism and importance were used.

A Likert scale, ranging from 7 for strong agreement to a 1 for strong disagreement was used. The test attempts to get not only at commitment to orthodox Christian beliefs, but also at the importance of those beliefs to the individual. Social characteristics such as age, sex, religion, political party, type of school attended, profession of father, migration patterns within the country and internationally, size of family and attitude toward school were analyzed and correlated with responses to give some indication as to their effect upon the sample.

Two private Protestant secondary schools were selected to be studied in addition to two public secondary schools. This was done specifically to make sure that there would be Protestants in the sample. The ultimate sample resulted in 44.6% in the senior high school or ciclo diversificado and 39.5% in the ciclo basico or junior high school, and 15.9% at the university. The breakdown by type of school was 37.6% in private Protestant secondary schools, 46.5% in public secondary schools, and 15.9% at the public university. The sample consists of 42.3% male and 57.7% female. The breakdown by religion was 63.2% Catholic, 23.6% Protestant, 6.3% who claimed other religious affiliations and 6.9% who claimed no religious affiliation at all. By political party, 18.1% claimed to be members of the ruling Liberal party, 1.4% of the Conservative party, 4.2% other and 72.2% claimed no political affiliation whatsoever. The breakdown by parental profession indicates a fairly high social class for most of the sample as might be expected at the secondary level where such a small percent of the age group are attending secondary

schools; 4.2% came from families of medical doctors, 16.0% came from families of lawyers, 30.6% from business families, 7.6% from teachers, 25.7% from government officials, with the rest coming from various assorted occupations. The data also indicate the size of families is quite large. Even though this tends to be a middle class to upper class population, the average size of family was close to 5 with over 25% having 7 or more children in the family. Another indication of the social class status was that close to 40% of the sample had visited other countries, and over 40% had fathers who had completed secondary school. Both of these figures would indicate middle to upper class status on the part of the population. As with previous research on education attitudes, the student population seemed genuinely to like school with 86% saying that they liked school very much or they liked it a great deal.

Findings

Insert Table 5:1 here.

With few exceptions the mean scores on all 18 items on orthodoxy, fanaticism and importance scales cluster around the 4 to 5 range. This indicates that on most of the items the students are on the "don't know" to "slightly agreement" side. As one breaks down the responses, however, by choice on the Likert scale, one finds strong agreement and strong disagreement on manh of the items. This would indicate a growing difference of opinion on the part of Nicaraguan young people towards religion. On almost every item Catholics were more in agreement with the statement than were non-Catholics. However, on only three of the items was the difference significant at the .05 level and on only one item was it significant at the .01 level. On the third question in the

Table 5:1

Dimensions of Religious Ideology

	Mean	Strong Agreement Percentage	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Don't Know	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Strong Disagreement	Other
1. I believe that there is a physical Hell where men are punished after death for the sins of their lives.	4.24	27.8	18.8	11.8	9.0	4.2	.7	26.4	1.4
2. I believe there is a supernatural being, the Devil, who continually tries to lead men into sin.	4.59	38.9	11.1	9.7	6.3	4.2	4.9	24.3	.7
3. To me the most important work of the church is the saving of souls.	5.36	50.7	18.1	4.9	3.5	4.2	4.2	13.9	.7
4. I believe that there is a life after death.	4.63	32.6	14.6	9.7	16.7	2.8	2.1	19.4	2.1
5. I believe there is a Divine plan and purpose for every living person and thing.	5.38	40.3	22.9	9.0	14.6	1.4	.7	9.0	2.1
6. The only benefit one receives from prayer is psychological.	4.60	15.3	4.2	9.0	11.8	9.0	18.1	29.9	2.8
7. I have a duty to help those who are confused about religion.	5.65	52.1	17.4	11.8	4.9	1.4	2.8	8.3	1.4
8. Even though it may create some unpleasant situations, it is important to help people become enlightened about religion.	5.69	45.8	22.9	11.1	7.6	6.3	.7	4.9	.7
9. There is no point in arguing about religion, because there is little chance of changing other people's minds.	3.94	30.6	3.5	8.3	7.6	11.1	12.5	24.3	2.1
10. It doesn't really matter what an individual believes about religion as long as he is happy with it.	4.67	19.4	6.3	8.3	1.4	9.0	10.4	42.4	2.8

Table 5:1 (continued)

	Mean	Strong Agreement Percentage	Moderate Agreement	Slight Agreement	Don't Know	Slight Disagreement	Moderate Disagreement	Strong Disagreement	Other
11. I believe the world would really be a better place if more people held the views about religion which I hold.	4.08	25.7	14.6	9.0	8.3	9.0	4.2	26.4	2.8
12. I believe the world's problems are seriously aggravated by the fact that so many people are misguided about religion.	5.24	48.6	13.9	10.4	3.5	4.2	4.9	11.8	2.8
13. My ideas about religion are one of the most important parts of my philosophy of life.	5.72	50.7	20.8	7.6	8.3	4.2	1.4	5.6	1.4
14. I find that my ideas on religion have a considerable influence on my views in other areas.	4.77	34.0	17.4	10.4	9.7	6.3	4.2	16.7	1.4
15. Believing as I do about religion is very important to being the kind of person I want to be.	5.08	38.2	15.3	9.7	17.9	4.9	3.5	9.0	2.1
16. If my ideas about religion were different, I believe that my way of life would be very different.	5.03	45.1	11.8	7.6	9.7	4.9	4.9	14.6	1.4
17. Religion is a subject in which I am not particularly interested	3.26	18.1	10.4	11.1	2.8	4.9	4.9	46.5	1.4
18. I very often think about matters relating to religion	5.30	45.1	18.8	10.4	4.2	2.8	6.3	11.8	.7

first scale, "To me the most important work of the Church is the saving of souls," Catholics were significantly more in agreement than were Protestants and non-believers. In checking the table one sees that over half of those responding were in strong agreement with the statement. On the second item in the fanaticism scale which states, "Even though it may create some unpleasant situations it is important to help people become enlightened about religion," over 68% of those responding were in moderate to strong agreement. On the third item in that same scale which states, "There is no point in arguing about religion, because there is little chance of changing other peoples' minds," the breakdown was not as clear, but the preponderance seemed to be on the side of slight disagreement to strong disagreement. On the only other item which was significant at the .05 level, the fourth question on the fanaticism scale, which states, "It doesn't really matter what an individual believes about religion as long as he is happy in it," we once again found a preponderance of respondents in opposition or disagreement to the statement. These four indicate that Catholics in Nicaragua appear to take their religion more seriously than do the Protestant respondents or at least are more fanatical about their religious belief system than are the Protestant respondents. On most of the other items the Catholic respondents were in greater agreement than were the Protestants. This would seem to indicate a greater orthodoxy, fanaticism and importance on the part of Catholics towards their religious ideology as compared to the Protestant respondents.

Some other generalizations based upon correlations would be that the younger students, those of secondary age or of junior high, ciclo basico, age tend to disagree more on all scales, particularly the fanaticism scale, than do the older students in their last year of secondary school or at the university. Only 4 of these, however, were significant at the .05 level. When sex was studied, the differences appear strongly in favor of female orthodoxy on most of the items. An example is the last item on the orthodoxy scale which states, "The only benefit one receives from prayer is psychological." As expected, the men were more in agreement than were the women.

Another generalization which can be drawn from the correlation data would be that those who are internationally mobile, that is responding in the positive to a question concerning visitation to other countries, tend to be in greater disagreement with the responses on almost every question than are those who have remained within the country. This difference was significant at the .01 level in four cases. An interpretation might be that we are talking about more highly educated and those from upper classes in this particular group. Those who have come into contact with more religious groups are not as fanatic in their beliefs, nor do they consider religion to be as important to their lives as those who have remained strictly in Nicaragua. This would square with other research which has been done which indicates that the greatest conservatism and religious ideology is to be found among the rural poor throughout Latin America, who have very low mobility. As one looks at the breakdown of responses on each of these scales and on specific items, it becomes apparent

that a majority of Nicaraguan young people are still conservative and orthodox in their belief systems, tend to rate quite highly on the fanaticism scale, have strong feelings about their religion and the need for others to accept it, and also in their view that religion plays an important part in their lives.

On the orthodoxy scale a majority of respondents took orthodox positions. The strongest agreement, as might be expected, was on the role of the church as being the savior of souls. On questions 1, 2 and 4, there appears to be similar groupings of respondents at each end of the scale. On question 5, however, there appears to be some differences, but with far less overall disagreement on the part of the respondents. One explanation for this might be the concept of fate which is dealt with elsewhere in this book which permeates not just the religious ideology of Latin Americans, but the perspectives which the general population take on their lives. On each aspect of the orthodoxy scale, however, there appears to be a strong minority of 30 to 35%, who disagree with traditionally orthodox positions on religion. Some of these are no doubt non-believers, though some might be members of Protestant sects which do not hold to all aspects of traditional Christian orthodox belief.

On the fanaticism scale, there seems to be even greater agreement on the part of the respondents than on questions of basic religious orthodoxy. One might expect that Protestants would be more evangelistic and possibly fanatical in their orientation than Catholics; however, the correlations, with the exception of the fifth statement, were strongly weighted towards Catholics' agreement. It might be interpreted that the

Catholic young people take their religion more seriously. On most of the items dealing with the fanaticism scale, over 60% and sometimes upwards of 70% were in agreement with the statement. Another interpretation might be that the clergy of Nicaragua have tended to be more conservative than liberal in their attitudes and possibly have led the young people of the country to be more concerned about passing on their religion, than might be true in other Latin American countries. The one break in the pattern, however, is on question number 5, on which the respondents state that "I believe the world would be a better place if more people held the views about religion which I hold." There seems to be a good deal of ambivalence on the part of the respondents on this, which might indicate a lesser degree of fanaticism than might be interpreted from the other five questions on the scale.

The final scale deals with importance of religion to their lives and their self concepts. The Nicaraguan respondents gave strong majorities to agreement that religion was and is important in their life. In some cases upwards of 60% placed it as important. As with the other scales, however, there appears to be a strong minority of up to 30%, who do not see religion as very significant in their lives. Given the estimates throughout Latin America and in Nicaragua that the vast majority of people do not attend religious services and are not basically religious, one must interpret the findings of this research in several different ways. One view might be that religion tends to be more significant in the lives of adolescents than it does in the adults of any particular population. Secondly, the parents will often force their young people to participate in religious activities, when they themselves are not

willing to do so. Thirdly, it appears from research throughout Latin America and in other countries, that people are willing to give verbal assent to a particular religious position, but attendance at church or other actions on their religious beliefs do not always follow.

Conclusions

It appears that the majority of Nicaraguan young people are still orthodox in their religious ideologies, strongly in favor of spreading their religious beliefs, if not fanatic in them, and see religion as important in their own lives. There is a significant and possibly growing minority of Nicaraguan youth, however, who reject orthodox beliefs, do not see religion as terribly significant in their own lives, nor wish to be evangelistic in their orientation towards the religious belief systems. Numerous observers have suggested that this is the trend societies take as they become more urbanized, technologically oriented, or highly educated, and given the nature of the Nicaraguan church as a comparatively weak institution, it would appear that a growing minority and possibly a majority in the future would hold to different belief systems than would be indicated by this particular research study. One group not studied in this particular research were the attenders at Catholic parochial secondary schools and the Catholic university. It might be expected that these groups would be significantly more orthodox, more fanatic, and see religion as more important in their lives than would the general population in the public secondary schools and universities and private Protestant parochial institutions. Given the nature of Nicaraguan society as a Catholic nation and the fact that the upper class

tend to send their children to private Catholic parochial schools, one can expect that the leadership of Nicaraguan society in the coming years will still be quite orthodox in their beliefs, practice and attitudes towards religion and the Church.

Footnotes to Chapter 5

[1]W. Stanley Rycroft, Religion and Faith in Latin America (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), pp. 81-120.

[2]J. Lloyd Mecham, Church and State in Latin America (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 329-330.

[3]W. Stanley Rycroft and Myrtle M. Clemmer, A Factual Study of Latin America (New York: United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1963), pp. 234-235.

[4]William R. Read et al., Latin American Church Growth (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 146-148.

[5]John Mander, The Unrevolutionary Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 210.

[6]Ibid., p. 212.

[7]John Morris Ryan et al., Area Handbook for Nicaragua (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 141-144.

[8]Ibid., p. 141.

[9]Ibid., pp. 142-144.

[10]Charles Glock as quoted in Snell Putney and Russell Middleton, "Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies," Social Forces (May 1961): 285.

[11]Ibid., pp. 285-290.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION: VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Educational Legislation, Policy and Organization

The Nicaraguan Constitution forms the basis of the public school system of the country. In the Constitution and the laws and regulations which have been passed to carry out its provisions or articles, one finds that public education is a state duty, that primary education is obligatory, and that both primary and secondary education are to be free. Other forms of education are to be promoted by the state, and all schools must offer moral and civic education. The autonomy of the National University is guaranteed, along with academic freedom, and all teaching is to be non-political. Teachers are guaranteed a promotion after ten years, minimum salaries, retirement, vacations, and other benefits.[1]

The goals of the Nicaraguan schools are stated in the regulations governing primary, secondary and higher education. These goals are similar to those found in most countries of the world. At the primary level the general objectives are: the transmission of basic cultural elements; the development of fundamental abilities and skills; the inculcation of ideals and values; and the stimulation and development of individual capabilities, in order to better understand the world in which we live, and to more efficiently be integrated into the social system. Other goals such as national unity, spiritual values, elimination of violence and aggression, democratic conscience, family unity, and health habits are also to be found. An additional goal, which has been restated following the earthquake of 1972, has been the cultivation of the ideals

of Central American integration, through unified textbooks, curricula and the integration of the economies. In the secondary schools, the goals are the same for all students in the basic cycle, as this level is considered a continuation of general education. At the diversified cycle level (senior high school), the goals differ, depending upon which type of schooling the student receives. The types of schooling at the diversified level are the regular academic secondary program, agriculture, the normal school and the commercial diploma. Vocational schools tend to be more at the basic cycle level, although some new institutions can be found at the diversified cycle also.

Ministry of Public Education (MPE)

The Nicaraguan educational system is a centralized one, with all major decision-making functions held in the Ministry of Public Education in Managua. It is a highly stratified administrative hierarchy with limited delegation of authority and tightly circumscribed boundaries of responsibility. The Minister of Education is a member of the President's Cabinet and is directly responsible for all educational policy in the country. A Vice Ministry collaborates with the Minister on all aspects of the educational system. The post of Minister of Education tends to go to a political figure, while the Vice Minister has either been a military person or as with the current Vice Minister, an educator. Underneath the Minister and Vice Minister are three divisions. The technical division includes the Director of Educational Planning, the Legal Office of the Ministry, the Budget Official, and the Ministry Controller. The Administrative-Technical Division is composed of the

Directors of Primary Education, Secondary Education, Personnel, Cultural Extension, Industrial Arts, Physical Education and Agricultural Education, while the Administrative Division consists of the Director of Administrative Services with a variety of sections under his control. All major educational decisions from textbook content to administrative structure are customarily referred to the highest levels for approval before they are made and/or implemented. The elementary curriculum reform went to the President, and he was involved in reading of the new curriculum materials.

Literacy

The literacy rates vary tremendously from department to department (states) with an estimated 84% literate in 1970 in urban Managua, to a low of 24% in rural Boaco. The percentage of adult illiterates in the population has declined from an estimated 62% in 1950 to 49% in 1963, and to a current estimate of around 40 to 42%. The actual number of illiterates, however, has risen from an estimated 369,000 in 1950 to well over 400,000 in 1975. If one includes all those 6 years and over who are illiterate, the 1971 census indicated 715,000 illiterates, and with large numbers of students not attending school at all or completing less than the minimum four years to attain literacy, it can be guessed that in the future the total number of illiterates will increase in the population of Nicaragua. This is due in part to the population growth rate, in addition to a variety of educational causes.

Primary Education

Primary education in Nicaragua consists of six grades and is directed to students between the ages of 7 and 12. This does not mean, however, that all students complete their primary education between those ages, as there are large numbers of students in their teens or even 20's who are attending primary schools. Primary schools are to be found in both the public and private sector. There are currently 2,292 primary schools in the country, 695 located in the urban areas and 1,579 in the rural areas. Many, if not most, of the rural schools, however, consist of only one classroom with 1 to 4 grades being taught in the one room, while many of the urban schools have 10 or more rooms. Figures for 1975 indicate approximately 402,000 students enrolled, with 10,559 teachers and 6,100 classrooms. Only 10% of the primary schools are private, with the rest run by the municipal governments or the national government. Due to the lack of classrooms, many schools are on double shifts, running from 8:00 to 12:00 and from 1:00 to 4:00 or 5:00 p.m. In the cities such as Managua, some are even on triple shifts, with the evening school being held for illiterate adults or others wishing to attain a primary certificate. Pre-primary education for the ages of 4, 5 or 6 is private, in nature, and located primarily in the city of Managua. It tends to be rather traditional in its methodologies and middle to upper class in its clientele. Special education is limited to two schools for the deaf and mentally retarded. Few teachers have received training in special education, but it is a program that the government is attempting to expand.

The curriculum at the primary school level was reformed in the early 1970's. Attempts were made to cut down on the number of different courses

that students took in order to provide a greater correlation within the curriculum. This effort was coordinated throughout Central America, as textbooks were produced under the auspices of the Organization of Central American States and funded by USAID. The current primary curriculum consists of 30 classes per week, of approximately 40 minutes each, with Spanish, mathematics, natural science, social studies, special activities, manual arts and music, physical education and agriculture being the required subjects at each grade level. Greater emphasis is placed on the Spanish language at the first and second grades with a diminishing amount by the fifth and sixth.

There are large differences between enrollments in the rural and urban areas. Of an age cohort beginning school together, only 5.4% will graduate from the sixth grade in the rural areas, while up to 44% will graduate in the urban centers. This, however, is a great improvement over 1950 when only 25% of the total population had received any education whatsoever. It is now estimated that 70 to 80% of all primary children at least begin the first grade. The large dropout rate generally occurs after the first grade, with only 36% of the first graders enrolling for second grade in the rural areas. Large numbers of students attend first grade several times before passing it, and many others just drop out, never to return. If one divides the enrollments by the number of classrooms, one comes up with an average of 52 students in both urban and rural schools. This average is misleading, however, as in some sparsely populated areas there are less than 15 students with two or more grades in the classroom, while in the cities 60 or more students in one grade in one classroom are not uncommon. The legally stipulated maximum number of

students is 40, although this limit is violated in over 50% of the classrooms of the country, due to lack of money to pay teachers and build schools. Salaries for primary teachers are generally very poor, with an average of $130 per month. This is not designed to attract highly trained people to the profession and the results can be seen in the dropout rates, both among the students and among the teachers. A tremendous lack of equipment and materials prevents teachers from doing the kind of job that most of them would like to do. Lunch programs, health programs, transportation and remedial help are available in very few instances. Libraries within the schools are small and only about 7500 total volumes exist in all of the primary schools of the country.

Primary teachers are trained at normal schools, which are a secondary level institution. It is a three-year program consisting of traditional academic subjects and methodology courses. In 1969 only 54 percent of those actually teaching in the primary schools had received this minimal amount of education. The other 46 percent had received other types of secondary education or had not even completed a secondary education at all. In recent years, with large numbers of secondary and university graduates, the possibilities are there to upgrade the level of education at the primary level. With the salaries paid to primary teachers, however, there is not much incentive for a university graduate or even for a secondary school graduate to enter the primary teaching profession.

Secondary Education

The number of students in the secondary schools has risen since 1950, when only 6 percent of the age group received any secondary education. At the present time, over 16 percent of the 13 to 18 year olds

are enrolled. The actual numbers enrolled have risen from 19,000 in 1963 to over 63,000 in 1973. Even with this spectacular growth the total numbers of students not receiving any secondary education has risen consistently throughout Nicaragua's history. This is, of course, due to the dramatic population growth rate to be found in the country. Current projections calls for from 107,000 to 125,000 to be enrolled in 1980, which would represent approximately 21 to 24 percent of the age group. There is also a large dropout rate at the secondary level, although it is not as dramatic as in the primary schools. Only 54 percent of those who enter the secondary school, graduate from the fifth and final year. The retention and repetition rates are quite severe. In 1969, 71 percent of the students passed, but in 1972, this had fallen to only 46 percent. Following the earthquake of December, 1972, the government became concerned with the dramatic rise in the failure rates and a decrease in the rates can be seen in 1973 and 1974. A variety of reasons have been given for the failure rates and dropout rates; these include overcrowded classrooms of up to 90 students at the secondary level, unqualified teachers, lack of teaching materials and equipment, poor facilities, the need to earn a living, lack of relevance, inability to afford fees, books and supplies, and marriage or other social and personal reasons.

Currently over 75 percent of both public and private secondary schools are college preparatory institutions. This has put tremendous pressure upon the universities to admit large numbers of students, and has led to a dramatic growth rate at the universities in recent years. In 1973 there was a total of 202 secondary institutions in Nicaragua. This was

down from the 208 operating in 1969, primarily due to the earthquake. Secondary schools have been unable to grow in number as rapidly as those at the primary level, and thus most of them are now on two and three shifts a day. There is little hope of reaching the 342 secondary schools planned for 1980.

Of the 202 secondary schools in existence in 1973, 71 were public and 131 were private. Of the same total, there were 158 traditional academic secondary schools, five normal schools, 29 commercial, seven agricultural, one vocational, and two nursing institutions. It is obvious from these statistics that private secondary education plays a very important role at the secondary level of the Nicaraguan schools. In 1974 there were a total of 1,472 secondary school teachers in Nicaragua. Teachers, however, do not teach full time as many are hired for only four, six or eight hours per week. Many teachers thus become what have come to be called taxi teachers, who teach in more than one school. In addition, there were 302 principals who, along with inspectors at the secondary level, also conduct classes. Salaries of secondary teachers are better than those to be found at the primary level, with a full-time teacher making up to $377 (U.S.) per month. Few, however, actually obtain the maximum and thus most teachers have several jobs in order to make ends meet in an expensive city such as Managua. Teachers in the secondary schools are often normal school graduates themselves, while a growing number have achieved two years at the university or even possibly the PEM Degree, which is a four-year university degree. There are now a few secondary teachers who have now achieved the licenciatura, a five-year university degree.

There are few incentives for a teacher to go back for further education, as upon receiving his PEM Degree, he only gets $28 more per month. Other incentives are 10 percent raise after five years, 20 percent after ten years, 30 percent after 15, and 45 percent after 30 years. Most teachers, however, find these incentives insufficient to keep them in the profession, and there is a great turnover in the profession. In a 1970 study of secondary teachers, eight percent had no secondary degree, 22 percent had only a high school diploma, 28 percent had completed the normal school degree, 9 percent had the licenciatura. Fully 52 percent of the public secondary school teachers had not completed a university degree program of any kind.

The curriculum of the secondary schools has been going through a revision for the past five years. The new program began in 1976 in the first year of the basic cycle, with an additional year to be added annually until 1980, when the reform is scheduled for completion. The new curriculum calls for the correlation of subjects, elimination of duplication, and upgrading of quality. It will consist of 35 hours of course work each week, with five in mathematics, Spanish, natural sciences, social science and foreign language, six in vocational programs, and two in physical education. The curriculum is much the same up through the third year of the basic cycles, with the exception that psychology is added in the third year. In the fourth and fifth years, which are part of the diversified cycle, philosophy, sociology, economics, physics, chemistry and biology are offered in place of the natural science and social science general field courses. The curriculum in the normal schools

is much the same, with the exception that methodological courses are added in the third year of the diversified cycle. In the agricultural secondary schools, agricultural courses are offered in addition to academic subjects. The same is true of commercial courses for the commercial secondary schools.

The textbooks in use at the secondary level are generally of a high quality and reflect recent thinking and scholarship in their particular disciplines, but there are problems due to the fact that there is often no choice of what textbook to use and because the same textbook may be used at several different levels, causing an inevitable problem of overlap. Secondary schools have laboratories, but in most cases these are underequipped and underused. In some schools the laboratories are in use only one day a week, thus indicating that discovery approaches to science teaching and learning have not really caught on in Nicaragua. The libraries contain few books, and most of them are under lock and key, and thus the social sciences and humanities are also prevented from developing new teaching methodologies. Perhaps the greatest change under the recent reforms of the secondary curriculum has been the addition of vocational programs for all students in the first four years of secondary school. It remains to be seen whether well-equipped shops can be built to provide meaningful vocational education in time for the reform to take place.

Post-Secondary and University Education

There are two major universities in Nicaragua. The National Autonomous University (UNAN) is government supported and currently enrolls about 12,000 students. Enrollment at this institution has doubled four times since 1950, and continues to grow at a very rapid rate. The national

government since 1967 has been required by law to allocate no less than two percent of the national budget to UNAN. Its growth rate, however, has far outstripped the growth of the national budget, thus resulting in severe shortages of facilities, faculty and services. The tuition charges of about $120 a year are restrictive in terms of national income levels. A liberal tuition waiver policy for those unable to pay makes the university highly dependent upon the government for its funds. Although it is autonomous, its dependence upon the government for its finances places some restrictions on it.

The University of Central America (UCA) is a private Jesuit institution in Managua, with about 2600 students enrolled in regular degree programs and several hundred more in short courses and an evening school. It is considerably more expensive to attend than UNAN and thus draws primarily from the middle and upper classes in the country. UNAN, the national university, has campuses in Managua and Leon and a small branch campus in Jinotepe. Other institutions at the higher education level are the Central American Institute for Business Administration (INCAE) which was modeled after and largely developed by Harvard faculty and serves the Central American business community. The Polytechnical Institute (POLI) was established under Protestant Church sponsorship and generally offers technical courses in the applied arts, nursing, and physical education. Other institutions, such as the National Agricultural School, National Commercial Institute, and the National School of Nursing, are located throughout the country. These are vocationally oriented institutions.

Attrition at the national university was 73 percent in 1972, and officials indicate that it has increased since then. UCA, where the students are generally wealthier, has had a lower dropout rate. It is not money alone which causes high attrition, as others drop out for marriage or career reasons. The support per student has dropped from a high of $429 per student in 1967 to $269 in 1974. This is the lowest in Central America, with Salvador spending upwards of $720 per student and the rest of the Central American countries in between. Registration in 1950 at the National University was 494. This had risen to 1913 in 1964, to 8,507 in 1973, and to 11,064 in 1974. With this rapid expansion, problems of quality were bound to affect the schooling process. Courses are offered in a wider variety of disciplines, with medicine being the most prestigious, but having only 266 students. The largest faculties are law, general studies, mathematics and physics, economics, humanities, science and letters.

Background of the Study

After reviewing all the related studies in Nicaragua it was found that there was very little research into many crucial areas of the curriculum reform process, and thus it was decided to create a new informational and attitudinal survey for secondary teachers and students. Two separate instruments were then prepared by the researchers, in consultation with knowledgeable educators, and these were pre-tested in a secondary school in Managua.

Sample Selection

Following the revision of the instruments, sixteen government or aided secondary schools were randomly selected to be visited. The random selection was conducted by type of schools to insure that ciclo basicos (junior high schools), full five-year secondary, normal, commercial, and agricultural or vocational schools would be included. All the schools in the randomly selected group were visited, with the exception of one institution on the East coast, which the researchers found impossible to visit due to constraints of time and travel. The schools in the private school sample (3) were not randomly selected, but do represent the variety of private secondary education available in the country.

An attempt was made to sample as large a group as possible of the secondary students and teachers in Nicaragua. The final totals were 1605 students and 186 teachers which represent approximately 4% of the student population and 10% of the teaching staff. Sixty third-year students in education at the National University were also sampled.

Due to the difficulties of administering the questionnaires to randomly selected individual students, it was decided to give them to randomly selected classes of students in each school. Attempts were made to sample approximately 20% of each student body. In some of the smaller schools, only one class was administered the survey, while in the large urban schools, as many as nine classes with seventy students in each, participated in the project. All questionnaires were personally administered by the researchers or other members of the Planning Office of the Ministry of Education, thus insuring a near 100% return. The researchers were not so fortunate with the return of the teacher-administrator questionnaires. Due to the fact that a large percentage

of the secondary staff are part-time teachers, it was found to be impossible to administer the questionnaires personally to groups of teachers and administrators. Administrators, therefore, were asked to collect the questionnaires and mail them to the Ministry of Education. A sixty percent return was finally attained, with teachers from all eighteen schools participating, although the percentage of participants varied from thirty percent to one hundred percent, depending on the particular institution. The selection of the third year class of 60 students at the University was in no sense random, but was due to the interest of the instructor in the research project.

Description of the Institutions Sampled

Of the eighteen institutions in which students and staff members were sampled, nine were located in urban areas, six in small towns and three in rural areas. Twelve schools were government owned, three receive government support and were known as aided schools, and three were classified as private schools. Only two of the institutions were night schools, but both are located in urban centers and enroll a large percentage of the total secondary school population of the country. Four of the schools surveyed contained only the first three years or Ciclo Basico, eleven contained all five years through the Ciclo Diversificado and three were specialized schools in teacher training (normal), agriculture and commerce.

Approximately twenty percent of the students in each institution were sampled, and attempts were made to obtain a complete sampling of

all the teachers, but the final total of 186 represents only sixty percent of the eligible faculty members.

Description of Student Sample

Sixteen hundred and five students were sampled and the spread among the five years of secondary school students was fairly good and in keeping with the number of students at each level, with the exception of the third year of Ciclo Basico, which is underrepresented in the sample.

Insert Table 6:1

The age spread of the sample was from 3% under the age of twelve to 17% over 20 years of age. Particularly in the night schools, there are a large number of young adults 20 and over.

Insert Table 6:2

The sex distribution is almost identical.

Insert Table 6:3

The percentages of students according to the occupation of the father are based towards the growing group of laborers whose children are found in the government, urban secondary schools, which represent a significant proportion of the available institutions. If more private schools had been sampled, a larger percentage of children from professional homes would have been found, or if more small town and rural schools had been sampled, a greater percentage of children from agricultural homes might be found. Overall, however, the sample is quite representative of the nationwide chances for students to receive a secondary education.

Insert Table 6:4

Table 6:1

Student Sample: Grade

Year in School	% of Sample
Ciclo Basico (7th grade) 1	27.47
Ciclo Basico (8th grade) 2	23.96
Ciclo Basico (9th grade) 3	13.73
Ciclo Diversificado (10th grade) 1	17.25
Ciclo Diversificado (11th grade) 2	17.57

Table 6:2

Student Sample: Age

Age	Percent of Sample
12	3.18
13	7.64
14	8.92
15	15.92
16	15.92
17	11.79
18	9.20
19	9.87
20+	17.52

Table 6:3

Student Sample: Sex

Sex	Percent of Sample
Male	50.47
Female	49.53

Table 6:4

Student Sample: Occupation of Father

Occupation of Father	Percent of Sample
Professional	11.85
Farmer	19.26
Manual laborer	33.70
Business owner	18.51
Office worker	8.89
Dead	2.59
Military	.74
Government	4.44

The amount of education which the student's mother or father had attained, differed considerably, with it generally being true that the parents of those students in private schools had attained a higher level of education. As might be expected, the fathers had generally attained a slightly greater amount of education, but it is also obvious from the statistics that a vast majority of the students in Nicaragua are the first generation in their families to receive a secondary education.

Insert Table 6:5

Description of University Education Student Sample

Sixty third-year education students at the National University were sampled. Many of the teacher-administrator questions did not apply to these students, although 22 of them were part-time teachers and did answer all parts of the questionnaire. The attitudinal questions were of specific interest to the researchers and this section was completed by all the university student sample.

The range in age of the university students was from 18-40 with the following percentages.

Insert Table 6:5

The number of males and females was identical, with fifty percent in each group. Although significant numbers of the university students did not answer all the biographical data questions, they can generally be described as preparing to teach in more than one field, as better

Table 6:5

Student Sample: Education of Father and Mother

Amount of Schooling	Percent of Father Sample	Percent of Mother Sample
No school	7.28	11.61
Grades 1-3	20.52	21.94
Grades 4-6	35.09	40.65
Ciclo Basico	13.91	12.58
Ciclo Diversificado	11.92	8.06
University	5.63	1.93
Graduate Work	5.63	3.23

Table 6:6

University Student Sample: Age

Age Group	Percentage
18-21	43.86
22-25	36.84
26-30	10.53
31-40	8.77

educated than the average secondary teacher now in the schools,[9] happy with their choice of teaching as their profession. They were generally pleased with their preparation to be teachers, although some 75% desired more practical experiences in the schools and sixty percent wanted more courses in their field of specialization and in education.

Description of the Teacher-Administrator Sample

The one hundred and eighty-six teachers and administrators in the sample represent fairly closely the percentages on a national scale. In age, the vast majority fall into the 22-40 age bracket.

Insert Table 6:7

The percentage of men teachers is larger than the women and represents a trend which has been going on in Nicaragua and other countries over the last thirty years, as more males enter the teaching profession, particularly at the secondary level.

Insert Table 6:8

With forty hours considered to be full time for a teacher, it can be seen from the following statistics that the large majority of secondary teachers are part time. Over fifty percent have other jobs, which might have some effect on job effectiveness and dedication to the profession.

Insert Table 6:9

Seventy-eight percent of the teachers-administrators live in the communities in which their schools are located. This figure is encouraging,

Table 6:7

Teacher-Administrator Sample: Age

Age Group	Percentage
18-21	3.26
22-25	21.19
26-30	25.54
31-40	28.96
41-50	12.51
50+	9.24

Table 6:8

Teacher-Administration Sample: Sex

Sex	Percentage
Male	58.92
Female	41.08

Table 6:9

Teaching Hours Per Week

Number of Teaching Hours	Percentage
1-5	6.01
6-10	13.11
11-20	28.96
21-30	30.05
31-40	21.86

considering the complaint of many rural students and parents that the teachers arrive from communities on Tuesday and leave again on Thursday, and begin their urban classes late and dismiss them early, thus effectively limiting the education of the rural child. This problem is more acute today than ever, due to better transportation systems. Almost all the teachers teach in more than one subject area, with many teaching three or four. All areas of the curriculum are represented, with the largest numbers in the social sciences, and Castellano. The class sizes taught by the various teachers varied from less than twenty in one rural school to an average of more than seventy in one large urban night school.

Insert Table 6:10

The amount of education which the teachers had completed also provides some interesting statistics, with a range of less than six years of primary school to postgraduate work.

Insert Table 6:11

The number of years in the teaching profession also provides some interesting insights. Although it is used as a stepping stone to other jobs, many Nicaraguan teachers remain in the profession for a considerable length of time. This is no doubt due in part to the lack of positions in other sectors of the economy, but with over 94% of the teachers expressing that they are very happy in teaching, it also indicates a real sense of satisfaction with the profession.

Insert Table 6:12

Table 6:10

Class Size

Class Size	Percentage
20-	1.13
21-25	5.11
26-30	10.80
31-35	13.64
35-45	31.25
45-66	15.91
55+	22.16

Table 6:11

Educational Level of Teachers

Education Completed	Percentage
6th grade Primary or less	1.09
Ciclo Basico (Jr. High School)	5.49
Ciclo Diversificado (Bachillerato) (Academic High School)	5.49
Ciclo Diversificado (Normal) (Teacher Training High School)	30.22
1 year at University	29.67
Maestros de Educacion Media (4-year University Teaching Credential)	19.23
Licenciados (5-year University degree)	7.69
Postgraduate	1.09

Table 6:12

Years in the Teaching Profession

Number of Years in Teaching	Percentage
1	2.70
2	2.70
3	7.03
4-7	29.73
8-12	27.03
13-20	14.05
20+	16.76

Discussion of the Results of the Teacher Questionnaires

All of the results of the teacher questionnaire cannot possibly be dealt with in the scope of this limited report, but where there are percentages, means, or statistically significant correlations, these will be looked at in some detail. The statistically significant differences between the teacher-administrator and university student teacher attitudes will also be dealt with in this discussion of results.

As was indicated earlier, the secondary teachers of Nicaragua are overwhelmingly positive in their attitudes toward the teaching profession. Their responses may have been partially based by the fact that the school directors were in charge of collecting the surveys, but the experience of the researchers seems to bear out this positive attitude. This does not mean that the teachers have no complaints or suggestions for changes, but on the whole, they are happy and wish to remain within the profession. Significant correlations can be found, however, between the more conservative teachers and a positive attitude toward the profession. Teachers who see the traditional lecture method as best, and who look upon the material learned as more important than the process, were significantly happier in the profession.

Insert Table 6:13

This positive attitude also carries over into their feelings about their preparation as teachers. Almost all have suggestions for its improvement, with 78.09% mentioning the need for more practical experiences, 64.61% desiring more education courses, and 48.31% wanting more courses in their major field of study.

Insert Table 6:14

Table 6:13

Attitude Towards the Teaching Profession

	Percentage
I am very happy in it.	94.48
I am glad to have this work, but in reality I don't like to teach	1.66
I wish I had chosen another profession	.55
I would like to leave the profession.	3.31

Table 6:14

Attitude Towards Teacher Preparation Program

Attitude	Percentage
Very good	36.22
Good	56.22
Fair	7.57
Poor	---

Among the possible changes which have been suggested for the Nicaraguan schools is a new 4-4-4 system of primary-transitional-secondary schools. Among the teachers there is little support for any new system, although 23% felt a 5-3-3 system had some value.

A large number of significant correlations were obtained between rural teachers and traditional educational attitude. They tend to be more textbook oriented in their need to cover the material in the book, look upon the lecture method as the only or certainly the best classroom approach, see the intellectual role of the schools as the major or sole goal with little consideration for the moral, social or personal development of children, and view quiet classrooms as signifying good teaching. These attitudes can be partially explained by the generally lower educational level of teachers in rural areas and small towns, but it is also indicative of the lack of in-service training and the poor dissemination of information and new ideas from Managua into the rest of the country. They also represent the more traditional nature of the surroundings and belief systems that are to be found in the rural areas of any developing nation.

Very little significant difference could be found between the public and private school teachers. This was of interest to the researchers, as a large number of private school teachers are members of religious orders and a significant number are foreigners with a high level of education. The public school teachers were significantly more in favor of vocational-technical programs, however, and were more receptive to the idea that the individual needs of students supersede those of the society. These results could be partially due to the

European-religious type of education offered in many of the private schools. They also might reflect the social class background of the teachers and students in this type of institution, as many of the private schools are tailored to the upper class, while the public institutions tend to be geared towards the middle class.

Few significant differences could be found between teachers of day and night schools. This is partially due to the fact that a majority of the night school teachers also teach during the day. One significant attitudinal difference was that night school teachers saw punishment as preferable to a reward system as a means of motivating their students. This could be partially due to the disciplinary problems encountered in the evening after both teachers and students have spent a full day at another job. Night school teachers also saw covering the textbook as important, perhaps another evidence of their being worn out after a full day's work and seeing textbook coverage as the easy way out.

Ciclo Básico teachers have much the same attitudes as those at the Diversificado level, but are significantly more open to the possibility that students can learn from each other and that learning should be interesting for both student and teachers. These attitudes probably reflect the nature of the student's age group at the Ciclo Básico level, and the type of teacher who ends up working with them.

The only significant difference between male and female teachers' attitudes is the greater tendency of the men teachers to feel that the needs and interests of the student are more important than those of the society at large. Such an idea is no doubt partially due to differing

socialization practices for boys and girls in Nicaragua society, in which girls are to be more conformist and subservient while aggressiveness and individuality are stressed more for boys.

Few significant differences could be found between the educational attitudes of teachers in the various subject areas. But there is a general tendency for science teachers to be generally more conservative in their thinking, as evidenced by their significant support of the importance of covering the text and downgrading of vocational education. Castellano teachers also tended to be more traditional in their attitudes, seeing strictness as important and the need for a teacher to keep his distance from his students. Teachers of art, music, and vocational or commercial subjects tend to be more open to the needs and interests of students. A great deal should not be made of those differences, however, as on the vast majority of attitudinal questions there was no significant difference.

Very little of importance can be stated about the attitudes of teachers of small classes as opposed to those with large ones. The teachers of smaller classes are generally more pleased with the profession, but not significantly so. There seems to be a more general acceptance of the inevitability of 50 or 90 in a class, and a lack of pressure on the part of the teachers to do anything to bring the average down to a more reasonable level.

The significant differences between the more poorly educated and highly educated teachers indicated that with more education comes more progressive educational attitudes. Those with less education are unable to see the possibility of education occurring outside of the

classroom or through individuals other than the teachers. They see the goals of the school as primarily intellectual with little need to deal with the individual's social, moral or personal needs, and they tend to blame the student rather than themselves, their teaching methods or the curriculum, if the student fails to learn. Their traditionalism is also seen in their opposition to any type of activities which might be seen as enjoyable. Learning is seen to be "hard" work and games or non-academic activities have no place in the schools. There is also a lack of sociological understanding shown in their beliefs that all children have an equal chance at obtaining a secondary education regardless of their socio-economic position. These differences in belief systems between the more educated and those with less education is encouraging, as it indicates that the educational system does seem to make a difference in attitudes, and hopefully in practice, although there are no doubt many other factors at work.

The more inexperienced, younger teachers also tend to be more conservative in their thinking than those who have been in the profession for a period of years. Many of their concerns revolve around discipline, as they seem to have a fear of their students, a lack of trust in the students and a feeling that students should not be part of the school decision-making process. They also see the subject matter as more crucial than the needs of the student when it comes to making curricular decisions. It is natural that younger teachers feel greater concern over discipline and the possibility that their students might take advantage of them, but in general, the younger teachers are the more highly educated, and it is discouraging to note their more traditional

outlook. The concerns expressed by these younger teachers indicate the need for more practical experiences as part of their teacher training programs, to help alleviate the disciplinary or other problems which plague new teachers.

The semantic differential items on teachers' attitudes towards their students or schools indicate that they are overwhelmingly positive, but that those who see students as bad, disagreeable, or undisciplined are generally negative in most of their attitudes. It is also true that those with negative attitudes tend to be more traditional in their beliefs concerning teaching methods and the role of the schools. It is likely that teachers exhibiting extremely negative attitude towards their students and the schools are doing an inadequate, if not harmful, job of teaching. It could be that steps need to be taken to insure that those teachers who have a strong dislike for students and the schools are prevented from entering the profession or weeded out, if they are already in the schools.

In the area of teaching methods, Nicaraguan secondary teachers indicate that they are moving away from the traditional lecture recitation - examination form of teaching. Observations by the researchers indicate that it is still more widespread than the teachers care to admit, but it is encouraging to see the growth of other teaching methodologies.

Insert Tables 6:15 and 6:16

Student involvement in the planning of class activities and assignments was supported by 56% of the teachers, but once again, observation

Table 6:15

Teacher's Use of Lecture Method

Percent of Time You Lecture	Percentage of Teachers
100	2.26
90	3.95
75	49.72
50	32.77
Less than 50	11.29

Table 6:16

Use of Other Teaching Techniques

Other Teaching Techniques	Percentage of Teachers
Large group discussion	46.63
Small group discussion	65.73
Individual projects	51.69
Audiovisual materials	77.53
Other	83.71

by the researchers and discussions with teschers indicate that few teachers actually involve their students in any part of the planning process. Almost sixty percent would not allow students in the Basic Cycle to elect courses, but a large majority of 81% feel that the courses in the Diversified Cycle should be elective in nature. These attitudes reflect both the nature of the current curriculum and the age level of the students. In a country with little tradition of elective courses, however, both of these statistics are most interesting and reflect an openness to change.

Of real interest to the researchers was the attitudes of the teachers towards their personal involvement in the curriculum reform process. Traditionally, curriculum reforms have been imposed from above, with little if any involvement beyond an occasional seminar for the classroom teacher. Major decisions are generally made in the Ministry of Education and the writing of materials, teachers guides and textbooks is generally a function of the central curriculum office, not teachers in the schools. With this tradition, many educators had suggested that the reasons teachers were not involved in the curriculum reform process was that they had neither the interest nor the ability. There may be a lack of training, but there is certainly no lack of interest, as over 98% of the teachers want to take an active part in the reform of the secondary curriculum. Once the hard work of curriculum reform begins, some of the interest will no doubt diminish, but such enthusiasm bodes well for the active involvement of a significant portion of the secondary teaching staff. This same desire to be involved in the decision-making process is seen in the 96% who feel that teachers should have the complete right to choose their own textbooks. The current

practice is for the Ministry of Education to put out an approved list of textbooks from which individual schools or teachers can choose.

The teacher's reaction to the textbooks now available is generally favorable, though a sizable number are not overly enthusiastic. A 1971 review of textbooks by the researchers indicated a great disparity in quality, with some excellently written, well illustrated, scholarly books and other which can only be described as educational disasters. Some contained the latest ideas in teaching methodology and material, while others were some twenty to thirty years behind in both approach and scholarship. The problem of cost is always crucial, but there are many examples of quality texts which were printed at a reasonable cost.

Insert Table 6:17

There are currently available curriculum guides for each year in the Ciclo Básico and Ciclo Diversificado. These consist of little more than an outline of one of the more popular textbooks in each subject area, and an occasional set of objectives, teaching suggestions or ideas for evaluation. By almost any standard of measurement, they are inadequate, and this was reflected in their responses.

Insert Table 6:18

Given these responses and the new curriculum guides for primary teachers, it makes it imperative that well constructed helpful guides be part of the total secondary reform package.

One of the things being discussed as part of the secondary curriculum reform is the adding of an additional year into the Diversified Cycle.

Table 6:17

Teachers' Attitudes Toward Textbooks

Attitude Towards Textbooks	Percentage
Very Good	21.74
Good	52.72
Average	23.91
Bad	1.63

Table 6:18

Teachers' Attitudes Towards Curriculum Guides

Curriculum Guides are of	Percentage
Great Help	19.86
Some Help	39.77
Little Use	9.36
Never used	4.68
Didn't know there were such guides	22.22

This would bring the total system up to twelve years, and in keeping with a majority of systems around the world a majority of 55% of the teachers support such a move, as does a portion of the educational hierarchy. The reasons for such support are numerous, and include such things as: other nations have twelve years of schooling; it would provide more teaching jobs and raise the educational budget; and the time is needed to better prepare students for work or the university. Another change which is currently under consideration is the splitting off of the Basic Cycle schools from Diversified schools. There are numerous educational reasons supporting such a move, but the teachers strongly oppose (74%) the separation of the institutions. Some causes for the opposition are the prestige patterns involved in teaching in schools at different levels, fear of losing teaching positions and the possible need for further training.

The use of a variety of evaluation instruments by teachers is encouraging to the researchers. Teachers are moving away from complete dependence upon an end of the year examination and are taking other forms of achievement into consideration. The use of objective-type examinations is still quite limited, but most teachers are now using more than one form of evaluation.

Insert Table 6:19

The economy of Nicaragua, like many developing nations, is highly dependent on agriculture, and forecasts indicate that this dependence will remain for many years. It was with this fact in mind that we attempted to ascertain positive or negative teacher attitudes towards agricultural education in the secondary schools. Most teachers do not

Table 6:19

Type of Evaluation Used

Type	Percentage of Teachers Using It
Essay examinations	53.26
Objective tests	24.46
Oral examinations	63.59
Grades for class participation	56.52
Themes	79.35
Creative work	83.15

appear to be opposed to adding agricultural courses to the regular secondary curriculum, but a majority of 54% oppose its being required of all students. Traditionally, agricultural and vocational programs, when electives, have attracted few students and all too often those who are attracted to the programs are students who couldn't handle the regular academic subjects. Only 37% of the teachers oppose the inclusion of Industrial Arts courses as a requirement, but the difference may only be due to the fact that it is already, at least on paper, a part of the required Ciclo Basico curriculum, whereas agricultural courses would be something new and thus more threatening. A large number of the teachers, 60%, believe that the majority of secondary students ought to be prepared for something other than the university, the task which seems to be dominant at the present time. Any change in basic emphasis is going to run into the fact that currently over sixty percent of the secondary students plan on attending the university. A shift in priorities from university preparation to preparation for the world of work is going to run into a good deal of student hostility, and if it means retraining or removal of staff, it will no doubt be strongly opposed by teachers.

If any large-scale technical, vocational or agricultural program is to get started, it is likely that it will have to include some work-study or on-the-job training program. This would be due both to the financial constraints upon building the necessary facilities for a meaningful program, and to the value that such programs have evidenced in other parts of the world. Both the students and the teachers are overwhelmingly positive about such programs which would attempt to bridge the gap between the school and the world of work.

One problem facing Nicaraguan secondary schools, though not to as great an extent as at the primary level, is that of drop-outs or push-outs. Some 12% of the secondary students drop out each year and another 14% are forced out by failure to pass examinations. The researchers attempted to ascertain the causes of desertion from the secondary schools by asking for the teachers' opinions. Many things were seen as contributing factors: the difficulty of courses, disciplinary problems of students, students have to work at home, illness, marriages, lack of interest in school work, truancy, and the students changing schools. All of these factors were identified by a majority of the teachers.

Any changes in curriculum, particularly ones geared at the world of work will necessitate a quality guidance program. There is a growing recognition of this need on the part of Nicaraguan educators, and attempts are being made to upgrade training programs, create a guidance department in the Ministry of Education, and get viable programs going in all the secondary schools. Teachers are almost unanimously in agreement that guidance services are needed, and the student responses indicated that they see a definite need and would use such a service, were it available.

The mean scores on some questions concerning family and other societal relationships provide some interesting insight into changing patterns of behavior. On a five-point Likert scale ranging from 5, signifying complete agreement, to 3, indicating neutrality, and to 1, indicating complete disagreement, the teachers reacted in the following ways.

Insert Table 6:20

Table 6:20

Teacher Attitudes About the Family

Question	Mean
Children ought to follow the same career as their fathers	1.34
Parents would be offended if their children were to obtain a better education than they had	1.24
A man needs more education than a woman	1.59

The low means on these items indicate that the teachers of Nicaragua have shifted from traditional patterns and see the young as having the right to choose whatever career they wish, and that in modern society men and women need an equal level of education. The days of discrimination against women in education should be over, if these attitudes are reflected in the society at large.

The means on the semantic differential tests also provide some real insights into the satisfaction or lack thereof of Nicaraguan teachers with their students and their school. Teachers were given a list of thirteen sets of descriptive adjectives about their students and seven describing their school. The mean scores indicate that, in general, teachers feel positively about their students and the schools in which they teach, but on some items the standard deviations were large enough to show that there is considerable disagreement. In answer to the question: My students are: The teachers responded as follows on a five-point scale between the two adjectival extremes.

Insert Table 6:21

In answer to the question: My school is: The teachers responded as follows:

Insert Table 6:22

On such characteristics as disciplined, hard working, educated and cultured, the teachers tended to rank their students down, while giving high ratings on such things as being good, friendly, pleasant and attractive. It is interesting to note that on the personal

Table 6:21

Teachers' Attitudes Toward Students

Adjectives		Mean	Standard Deviation
Good 5 4 3 2 1	Bad	3.81	.88
Likeable	Not Likeable	3.74	1.08
Intelligent	Stupid	3.70	.76
Well Bred	Poorly Raised	3.19	1.00
Cultured	Uncultured	3.16	.97
Calm	Excitable	2.88	1.15
Kind	Cruel	4.01	.76
Pleasant	Disagreeable	3.76	.89
Attractive	Repugnant	3.68	.81
Successes	Failures	3.52	.76
Happy	Sad	3.93	.87
Hardworking	Lazy	3.23	1.21
Disciplined	Undisciplined	3.22	1.23

Table 6:22

Teachers' Attitudes Towards Schools

Adjectives		Mean	Standard Deviation
Beautiful 5 4 3 2 1	Ugly	3.85	1.21
Large	Small	3.33	1.57
Comfortable	Uncomfortable	3.34	1.50
Full	Empty	3.70	1.06
Well Equipped	Poorly Equipped	3.92	1.36
Good	Bad	4.01	1.06
New	Old	3.69	1.45

characteristics students were ranked high while on things more connected with the educational system and its results, they were marked down. The standard deviations on the teachers' feelings about their schools indicate a great deal of disagreement, with a significant number of the teachers seeing their schools as ugly, uncomfortable, crowded, and poorly equipped. These attitudes are bound to be reflected in teacher morale and dictate that some steps be taken to alleviate the problems.

One of the crucial components of any curriculum study is an evaluation of the success of a particular system in fulfilling its stated objectives. With this in mind, the teachers were given a list of the stated objectives for secondary education in Nicaragua and asked to give one of four responses to each.

A. Functions which the schools or secondary teachers ought not to perform.

B. Functions which the schools or teachers ought to do but don't.

C. Functions which the schools or teacher ought to do but don't do well.

D. Functions which the schools or teachers do well.

All of the stated goals of the schools were seen as viable and worthwhile by over 95% of the teachers, but there was considerable disagreement as to whether the goals were being met and to what degree.

Insert Table 6:23

On only two of the nationally stated goals is there any significant feeling that the goal is being performed well, and in these two cases, that total amounts to only about one-third of the teachers. The

Table 6:23

Fulfillment of Secondary School Objectives

1. To assist students in gaining a scientific understanding	A. 1.16%	B. 20.23	C. 56.07	D. 22.54
2. To assist students in appreciating democracy.	A. 1.16	B. 45.93	C. 38.37	D. 14.53
3. To orient students to the socio-economic life.	A. 1.72	B. 52.30	C. 35.63	D. 10.34
4. To prepare students for higher education.	A. 00	B. 13.95	C. 50.00	D. 35.47
5. To develop in students respect for the human person.	A. 1.13	B. 24.29	C. 41.24	D. 33.33
6. To continue general education.	A. 4.17	B. 33.33	C. 38.10	D. 24.40
7. To have a spirit of liberty and freedom.	A. 3.47	B. 35.26	C. 39.88	D. 21.39
8. To stimulate the development of an integrated culture	A. 1.18	B. 39.05	C. 40.83	D. 18.93
9. To aid the student in his use of laboratories and libraries for observation and scientific analysis.	A. .06	B. 22.99	C. 52.30	D. 24.14

schools seem to be achieving, to some extent, their goals of university preparation and teaching respect for the human person. Of the others it seems that a significant percentage, 33%-52%, feel that schools are doing nothing in the way of teaching an appreciation for democracy, orienting students to the socio-economic realities, providing a general education, providing a spirit of liberty and free criticism, or in stimulating an integrated culture. The schools are given passing, if not high marks, on helping the student to achieve scientific understanding and the ability to use laboratories and the library in his scientific work. When goals are as broadly stated as these in Nicaragua, they are manifestly impossible to measure, but the teachers do appear to be less than positive about the school's success in achieving its basic goals. This suggests several courses of action: 1) a clearer definition of objectives, 2) a redefinition of the curriculum to help meet the objectives, 3) improved pre- and in-service teacher education to help teachers meet the stated objectives along with the necessary teaching materials and financial support.

In another attempt to have the teachers deal with the objectives and purposes of the secondary school, the researchers gave the teachers a list of possible goals and asked them to rank-order them. The same list was given to the student-teachers at the university, but the differences between the two groups were not found to be significant.

Insert Table 6:24

Even though there will always be semantic difficulties connected with any such question, some important information on what teachers believe to be the main tasks of the secondary school can still be gleaned.

Table 6:24

Rank Order of Education Goals

Goal	Mean	Standard Deviation	Ranking
Moral development	2.35	1.39	1
Intellectual	2.37	1.58	2
Aesthetic	6.11	1.39	7
Social	3.69	1.68	3
Physical	5.58	1.81	6
Vocational	7.21	1.18	8
Civic	4.15	1.51	4
Spiritual	4.58	2.23	5

With low mean scores and comparatively small standard deviations, the moral and intellectual development tasks of the secondary schools stand out as the main choices of a very large percentage of the teachers. This is in keeping with the traditional nature of the society at large and the schools in particular. Given the European-style curriculum with its intellectual emphasis and the continuing impact of the Catholic Church on the secular schools, the choice of the moral and intellectual is of no real surprise to the researchers. No doubt due to definitional problems, there was the greatest difficulty with spiritual development. It was ranked almost evenly from #1 through #8, which might indicate positive and negative clerical attitudes, in addition to semantic difficulties. Given the stated objectives of the secondary schools and the curricular emphasis upon the social sciences, it might be expected that the civic and social goals would receive some support while the lack of support for the aesthetic and physical aspects is also reflected in their absence or near absence in the current secondary school curriculum.

An expected result, but one which is most discouraging to the researchers, is the extreme lack of support for the manual or vocational development of the secondary student. Given prestige factors, and the current emphases of the secondary curriculum, it was not expected to receive much support, but given the economic realities of the nation, statements by the government on its plans for expanded vocational programs, the overcrowding of the universities, and excessive numbers in many of the professions, it becomes obvious that a change of attitude must occur if meaningful vocational programs are to be developed.

Teacher Attitudes Survey

Since the significant correlations between such factors as age, sex, education and educational attitudes were dealt with in the previous section, we shall turn our attention to various attitudinal questions which indicate factors significant to educational change. Attempts to factor analyze the attitudinal questions proved unproductive, so only individual or groups of related questions will be dealt with, as they indicate the general outlook of Nicaraguan teachers.

On those questions concerning the role of students in the teaching learning process, planning and school government, the mean scores indicate substantial teacher support for student involvement, but the standard deviations indicate a strong element which opposes such moves. With little tradition of student involvement, but strong teacher support, it would appear to the researchers that what is needed is a strong pre- and in-service program on how to use students in all aspects of the school and classroom environment: classroom planning, teaching, assignments, evaluation, student government, etc. A question as to whether students were bored in school brought an interesting response from teachers with the mean response falling into the middle or neutral category, but with a significant percentage believing that their students were bored with their studies.

The teachers of Nicaragua, as a group, seem to be quite well acquainted with the concepts of educational psychology, and exhibit in their attitudes on questions of concerning learning theory, a rather progressive approach to education. This speaks well for the work of the Normal schools and secondary schools in general, as only a small percentage

of the sample have completed a university-level teacher education program. This does not mean, however, that verbal assent to an attitudinal question is the same as putting those ideas into practice, but it does provide some real hope for bringing about meaningful educational reform, if the teaching staff is not unalterably opposed to the basic principles involved. Individual differences are recognized as important, but with 50-90 students in many of their classes, teachers are at a loss as to know what to do. With the extreme lack of teaching materials and other aid to the individualization process, it is unlikely that merely a positive attitude towards the concept is of any great significance.

The teachers seem well aware of the concepts of rewards and punishments in the teaching-learning process and the need for positive motivational devices to help students learn, although competition for grades is seen as a valuable motivator, as ideas of non-graded or ungraded schools have not entered the picture of Nicaraguan education at this point in time. There also seems to be a general recognition that factors other than basic intelligence have a bearing on the success or failure of the student in school. Self-concept, socio-economic background, etc., are seen as having a bearing on the performance of students in the school setting.

The view that some subjects are inherently more capable of helping a student to think is held by a vast majority of teachers. This view reflects the bias towards traditional subject matter areas, as opposed to vocational, aesthetic or physical education subjects, whose content is thought to have little to do with the cognitive side of man's nature.

Current thinking in educational psychology would tend to deny the inherent value of any subject area over any other, but such ideas die hard.

In the area of teaching methodology the teachers seem to be aware of many of the newer ideas, and even give positive assent to their use, but by their own admission, and through the observation of the researchers, little is actually done to implement them. There are many contradictions also, as can be seen by the fact that the teachers feel strongly about the active involvement in the learning process by the students, but continue to lecture 75% or more of the time, and see the lecture-homework-recitation method as the best approach to teaching. Observers have pointed to the overdependence upon textbooks by the Nicaraguan teachers, and this is reflected in their strong support of textbook coverage as a crucial part of the educational process.

Although teachers see a great deal of value in the use of audiovisual aids, they are effectively prevented from using them, as there is a great lack of films, projectors, maps, globes, or copy machines.

Teachers also express a real willingness to allow independent study projects, but once again are stymied by a lack of library facilities, books, laboratory equipment, and other materials essential for any such program to be of any educational benefit. There is also the lack of a tradition of independent study which might effectively limit its use, until an extensive in-service preparation course has been conducted. A related problem is the fact that many laboratories and libraries are kept under constant lock and key to prevent theft, but thereby also preventing their use by students.

Concepts such as process and discovery seem to have reached the Nicaraguan teachers, although there is no evidence that they place process ahead of content in their teaching or have done much to develop discovery approaches to learning. This is not surprising, as even the U.S., with its massive expenditures in developing discovery-oriented curriculum materials and conducting special seminars and training sessions, has very little to show in the way of actual changes in teacher behavior. Behavior takes many years, perhaps even generations, to change, and Nicaragua is not likely to be an exception to this general rule.

Students teaching other students, their own age or younger, is at one and the same time a very old and a very new idea. It is being used in many countries of the world in traditional classrooms as part of the regular routine, and in newer experimental programs in which secondary students work in primary and pre-primary classrooms as teacher aides, or in adult literacy programs. Such ideas, while new to the Nicaraguan teachers, are quite well accepted and it would seem that such programs could be begun in the near future. With the recent publication of books dealing with the importance of classroom questions, teachers in the English-speaking world are becoming increasingly aware of their current emphasis upon memory type of questions, and the need for questions which get at higher order types of thinking such as analysis and synthesis. In Nicaragua there is a basic understanding of the importance of the type of questions teachers ask as the teachers give strong assent to the statement that the type of questions the teacher asks, are at least as important as the answers obtained.

Froebel, Montessori, Piaget, and numerous educational writers and psychologists have pointed out the instructive role of the games which children and young people play. Verbal assent is given to this concept by the vast majority of Nicaraguan teachers, but like many other attitudes, one sees little in the schools to indicate that it has made much difference in the teaching methods used.

Many governments are turning their attention to the non-school educational agents in the society: television, newspapers, religious and social organizations, unions, businesses, factories and many other facets of the society. In economically developed areas such as North America and Europe, it is quite likely, as McLukan has stated, that more education occurs outside of the classroom than within it. This is not so true of a developing nation such as Nicaragua, where literacy rates, the number of television sets, and many other factors still make the school the prime educator in the society. It is also true, however, that a large majority of the 7-16 year olds are not in a school of any kind, thus forcing an educational role upon the rest of a society which is perhaps not quite ready to meet the challenge of a large semi-literate populace. The challenges are: how can the educational system serve the greatest number of young people and adults? and, How can the non-school agencies be used in the battles for literacy and economic development? The teachers recognize that education is a function of more than just the school, and is a lifelong process. It is now time that new programs in the schools be developed to prepare students for more than the university, and that other groups in the society be strengthened to meet the educational needs of the large number of children not in school and illiterate or semi-literate adults.

Observations and attitudinal research both point to the central role of the teacher in the Nicaraguan classroom. It is difficult for them to conceive of any situation where this would not be true, even though they give verbal assent to such concepts as student participation and shared responsibility. Classroom management would thus seem to be a fruitful area for in-service workshop . Carl Rogers and many other educational writers in recent years have pointed out that the role of the teacher should be more than just a disseminator of information but must include the rule of counselor, fellow-learner, and guide in the quest for knowledge. From their responses the teachers would seem to be in favor of changing their currently dominant role as center of attention and lecturer, but find it difficult to do so, given their own backgrounds, lack of training, and lack of teaching materials.

The personality of the teacher is increasingly being recognized as a crucial factor in not just the atmosphere of the classroom, but also in the learning which takes place. Love, concern, or interest in students seem to be basic characteristics which are almost universally recognized as important factors in the personality of a good teacher. From their responses on the attitudinal questions and the semantic differential questions, the Nicaraguan teachers, in general, seem to have a genuine liking for their students, if not always the highest respect for their abilities or behavior. Although other countries have not been terribly successful in predicting teacher success and isolating positive and negative personality factors, enough valuable research has been done to provide the bases for decision making. It would seem that

some research into the whole area of teacher personality might be productive in the Nicaraguan setting.

Although a significant proportion of the teachers see their students as undisciplined, they are willing to blame not just the student, but also such things as deficiencies in the curriculum, poor teaching and poor classroom management. Such an attitude is essential to any meaningful change in the schools, and bodes well for the proposed curriculum reform. Teachers are not just scapegoating, but are willing to recognize problems wherever they exist, even in their own teaching or classroom management. Although they tend to be somewhat traditional in the way in which they run their own classrooms, they do not see a quiet classroom as necessarily a positive thing, thus indicating an openness to many newer teaching methods, which might not be in keeping with a tradition of silent students.

The attitudinal questions dealing with the goals of the secondary schools tend to parallel those discussed earlier, as the teachers tend to emphasize university preparation and intellectual development, though not ignoring the personal and social development of their students. While supporting the need to prepare students for the world of work, they don't see it as the basic goal. Questions concerning the needs and interests of the students over against societal needs were of real interest to the researchers as, traditionally, developing nations tend to emphasize societal needs. The teachers found themselves split down the middle on the issue with half supporting each side, but on a related question on the needs and interests of students forming the bases of the curriculum, they were much more positive. The issue has

never and will never be resolved anywhere in the world, but how each country, each school, and each teacher approaches the problem will have a profound effect on such issues as elective courses, curricular offerings, funding of schools, scholarships, academic freedom, and a host of other issues.

In Managua, and even in some of the smaller cities, there is a growing number of women and, in some cases, men who have a high school diploma or even some work at the university, but who do not wish to work full or even part-time. Other countries are starting to use this valuable manpower in various capacities in the schools, as teachers' aides, library workers, playground supervisors, chaperones for trips, and in a hundred other capacities. Teachers appear to be open to the idea of using non-professionals to help in the schools, and the idea makes a great deal of sense, given the current class enrollments of up to 90 or more students. Such a program could also include university students to a much greater extent than the current student teaching program. In a society with a limited pool of trained manpower, it is essential that all of it be used in the most efficient manner. If the schools are to be tied more closely to the communities which they serve, it is also imperative that the parents and community be involved to a much greater extent in all aspects of the school program, and the school facilities must become true community centers, not just an institution for the young.

The reform of the curriculum can be in many different directions and can affect every aspect of school life; for this reason the researchers wished to ascertain the resistance or acceptance on the part of the teachers to ideas such as a problem-centered curriculum and scheduling.

There is a real ambivalence towards such new ideas, with some strong support for and against, perhaps indicating that such changes are not impossible to institute, but that they must be brought in slowly, so as not to antagonize the opponents. It is likely that any change will meet with resistance, but in-service educational programs and new programs in teacher preparation should help to bring about some of the changes in teacher attitude and behavior so necessary for a meaningful reform program. With a tradition of a subject-centered curriculum, 50-minute periods, and standard class sizes, some of the newer approaches are still not widely known, so that there is an informational gap which also needs to be bridged.

One of the things the researchers wished to find out was if there were any significant differences in attitudes between the teachers out in the schools and those in training at the university. On eighteen items there was a significant difference between the two groups. A study of the mean scores of the other items indicates many interesting things even though the differences were not statistically significant. As a general statement, it can be said that students preparing to be teachers were generally more conservative in their attitude than the practicing teachers. This surprised the researchers who had expected that because of the current nature of their education, the greater amount of education, and the generally more liberal attitudes of youth, the results would be reversed.

On only a few items could one find an attitude on which one group agreed and the other disagreed, but there were still statistically significant differences in their opinions on the eighteen items. The

reasons why the student-teachers did not feel as strongly about the need for the subject matter to be as interesting for the teacher as for the student are hard to find, but it might indicate a small degree of boredom on their part and perhaps a slight feeling that teachers really don't need to make a course interesting for their own sake. Teachers feel more strongly about their role as an aide to the student and not just a dispenser of information than did the student-teachers. It might be that the students fail to perceive their teachers filling this role, and that their own education is so dominated by teachers who only give information and little else that they don't recognize other legitimate roles as counselors or fellow learners. The differences might also indicate that teachers perceive of themselves differently than do their students.

Another indication of the more conservative nature of the student teachers is their greater unwillingness to recognize factors other than intelligence as having an effect on a child's ability to perform in school. This could be due to a lack of desire on their part for the school to interfere in their personal lives, but more likely it indicates a lack of understanding of the effects that poverty, hunger, illness or family problems can have on the individual student and the classroom as a whole.

Interestingly enough the student teachers were much more willing to blame the students when disciplinary problems arose, whereas practicing teachers were more likely to point to deficiencies in the classroom, poor teaching, or poor classroom methods. The researchers believe that this is due to the teacher's greater ability to see the broad picture and to see deficiencies in themselves and the schools which might lead to

disciplinary problems, whereas the student teachers, still attending school, just see the obvious, more overt causes of bad student behavior rather than the underlying, hidden ones. It might also reflect the greater problems younger and more inexperienced teachers have with discipline, and their willingness to blame these problems on internal causes might be due to their greater lack of ego strength and job security.

The teachers were significantly more interested in allowing students to carry on independent projects of their own interest than were the student teachers. This might indicate a lack of experience with the method on the part of the student teachers or recognition that if such opportunities were given to them, they might waste them. The same conservatism shows in the student teachers' greater willingness to see the basic objective of any given class as predominantly the acquisition of knowledge about the area rather than the ability to think, discover material for oneself, learn the scientific method, or other goals of which the teachers seem to be more aware. Once again, however, it may be that the student teachers are perceptive and can see little in the way they have been taught, which indicates anything other than the acquisition of knowledge as a goal, and thus they can hardly be expected to give assent to goals they know nothing about and have never experienced.

Perhaps due to their own expertise at taking one type of examination, the student teachers were not as supportive of using a variety of evaluation techniques as were the teachers. The teachers were also much more interested in a curriculum reform which would be based on problems in the society and the natural environment, rather than on traditional subject matter groupings. It is generally true that those still studying

within a system in which the boundaries between the disciplines seem impenetrable, are more likely to defend that system than those who stand outside or above the system and see the boundaries as purely man-made distinctions and thus open to change.

An area of the curriculum which is almost ignored in the elementary and secondary schools of Nicaragua is that of the creative arts: music, dance, painting, etc. The teachers support, to a significantly greater extent, the inclusion of more creative arts in the secondary curriculum, thus indicating a greater sensitivity to the problem. On many of the items dealing with roles, the students tended to put teachers on a pedestal, and they also indicated a greater unwillingness to admit that one can learn a great deal from a fellow student, even as much as from a teacher. Perhaps due to age, maturity and a more realistic outlook on what the schools can and cannot do, the teachers were much stronger in their disagreement with the statement that education is something which only occurs in the schools. When one is still struggling to achieve success within the educational system, he is not as likely to admit that he might learn as much from sources outside the schools.

Teachers with any perceptive ability have seen countless examples where the self-concept, positive or negative, of an individual had a profound effect on the success or failure of that child in school. This greater realization of the importance of the self-concept was shown in the attitudes of the experienced teachers. Experience seems to have taught them in the schools the importance of a philosophy or viewpoint on education, and perhaps it is only as one gains maturity that philosophical issues take on real, personal meaning. The process or discovery

approach to the curriculum, which dominates most of the reform movements throughout the world, has as one of its major tenets that the subject matter learned is not as important as the process by which it is learned. Nicaragua secondary teachers are significantly more in agreement with this concept than are the student teachers. This might indicate a greater knowledge of the new reforms on the part of the teachers, or perhaps once again, a cynicism on the part of students who have never experienced the process or discovery approach.

In almost every attitudinal area the younger, generally more educated student teachers expressed views more traditional on a progressive-traditional scale. One can only speculate that in the Nicaraguan setting, experience is an important teacher and that perhaps only with experience comes the greater openness, empathy, ego strength, and understanding evidenced by the experienced teachers.

Student Questionnaire

Before dealing with significant correlations which indicate important attitudinal differences between groups, we shall look at some of the percentages, which give some idea as to the general outlook of Nicaragua students.

In an attempt to find out why students remain in a school or drop out, the students were asked to give their reasons. With a large number of drop-outs after the first year of Ciclo Básico and a significant attrition rate in most of the other years, it was felt to be imperative to isolate the crucial factor involved in the decision to drop out or remain in school.

Insert Table 6:25

Table 6:25

Student Reasons for Staying in School

Reason	Percentage Giving It as a Reason
I like school	61.05
My parents make	8.41
I want to go to the University	70.40
I want to have the ability to get a good job	68.53
I have nothing better to do	19.00

The reasons why students drop out can be seen in other questions on the survey and were referred to at length in the teacher's questionnaire: difficulties in their courses, disciplinary reasons, having to help at home or get a job, illness, marriage, and boredom. The act of dropping out can seldom be traced to any one cause, but it is the belief of the researchers that with the generally positive attitude towards school on the part of the vast majority of students, it is probably economic factors which play the greatest role in the Nicaraguan setting.

In an attempt to find out the occupational preferences of secondary age students in Nicaragua, the respondents were asked what they would like to be in 10 years and in 40 years. Too large a number of the students left the anser to 40 years blank to obtain any meaningful results, but the results for their 10-year ambitions were quite interesting.

Insert Table 6:26

Not unlike those in most other countries, Nicaraguan secondary students aspire to enter the professions. In an economically developed nation, such ambitions have a much greater chance of being fulfilled, but in a country with a surplus of lawyers, a growing number of unemployed teachers and an imbalance of doctors to nurses and other technicians, such hopes will either lead to unemployment or underemployment, if all the students were to receive the training they say they desire. It is also true that in a nation such as Nicaragua, the economic development is going to be highly dependent upon profitable farming and yet only .03% of the secondary students wish to enter any

Table 6:25

Occupational Preferences of Students

Occupation	Percentage
Doctor	14.92
Lawyer	18.98
Engineer	9.15
Professional	14.92
Teacher	28.13
Farmer	2.03
Businessman	.03
Priest or Num	9.83
Architect	1.69

aspect of agricultural work. Development is also highly dependent upon well trained, enlightened business leaders, and yet only 2.03% wish to enter this field. The 9.15% stating engineering as their area of interest is encouraging, but with a growing need for middle level technicians it is likely that even this percentage is not large enough to meet the technical needs of Nicaragua. Considering the extremely small number of Nicaraguans who have been trained for the priesthood in the last 10 to 20 years, the number of students desiring to be priests or nums is surprising, but perhaps indicates the positive light in which many of the priests and nuns who teach in the private, aided, and even government schools, are held. With about 60% of the secondary students planning on attending the university it is likely that strict limits will have to be set on enrollments in certain departments, and perhaps more scholarships and other incentives given to attract students into technical, agricultural and business programs.

The attitudes of the students twoard their elementary school preparation and their secondary schools are almost identical.

Insert Tables 6:27 and 6:28

These student reactions speak well for the work of the primary and secondary schools of Nicaragua, as it is unlikely that many countries could find as much positive support from their secondary students. This support does not indicate that students don't see the need for changes and improvement, but it does show a high morale, which can be crucial in any type of reform movement. The areas of student concern give insight into the problems facing the Nicaragua secondary schools.

Insert Table 6:29

Table 6:27

Student Attitudes Towards the Education they are Receiving

Attitude	Percentage
Very good	58.75
Good	31.88
Average	7.81
Bad	.06
Very poor	.09

Table 6:28

Students' Attitude Towards School

Attitude	Percentage
Like it very much	59.87
Like it a lot	32.60
Don't like it	7.21
Dislike it	.03

Table 6:29

Student Perceptions of Major Educational Problems

Problem	Percentage Naming it as a Problem
Better textbooks	13.08
Better teaching	25.23
Better buildings	17.45
Better recreational areas	21.18
Better testing and evaluation	8.72
Better libraries	19.94
Better laboratories	29.60
More clubs and athletics	15.26
Better discipline	18.69
Better counseling services for students	8.72
Less homework	4.67

Many of the students did not realize that they were to mark more than one area, so that the percentages perhaps do not represent levels of concern. They do, however, give a fairly good feel for the kinds of problems which both teachers and students perceive, and areas of concern which must be dealt with in any secondary reform.

One of the major changes which has been contemplated for some years and is finally to be experimented with is the move from the present 6-3-2 system to a 4-4-3. The reasoning behind this move is based on many factors, among the most important being the provision of a full four-year primary education in the rural areas, a transitional or middle school geared to the needs of early adolescents with provisions for prevocational training, and a diversified or comprehensive three-year secondary school to prepare students for the world of work and the university. Such a change will necessitate the building of many new transitional schools, which necessitates the separation of the older and younger students. The older students do not seem to mind such a move, but according to the survey questions, students in the present Ciclo Básico would prefer to attend an institution containing all secondary grades, for prestige and other reasons.

Since a considerable percentage of the Nicaraguan population live in rural areas, the researchers were interested in the distance the students lived from their school. An urban area is defined in Nicaragua as any population center with more than 2000 persons. This definition allows for many areas to be considered urban, even though they are in very remote areas and are rural in attitude and orientation. In 1971, 52.03% of the population was defined as rural, although in terms of

outlook, occupation and a different definition, the percentage is probably closer to 70%. Almost all the government and private secondary schools are located in urban areas, with nearly 50% of the secondary enrollment being found in Managua alone. To get some idea of the chances a rural secondary age student has of attending school, students were asked how many kilometers their homes were from the school.

Table 6:30

From these statistics, it is obvious that students from rural homes have little chance to obtain a secondary education, since only those with the necessary bus fare are likely to be able to travel any great distance to the nearest secondary school. An expansion of the secondary schools into rural areas, a private or public school bus system, and some form of secondary school correspondence course or use of the mass media are needed to meet the educational needs of the secondary age rural population.

The researchers hypothesized that the grades received by the students might affect their responses on various attitudinal items, and information about the percentages receiving each grade were desired. With the exceptions of perhaps a slightly smaller percentage of students at the top and lower levels, the grading system seems to parallel quite closely that used in other countries.

Insert Table 6:30

These are the grades which students said they generally receive, so should not be looked on as completely reliable data. Studies on

Table 6:30

Distance of School from Home

Number of Kilometers	Percentage
1 or less	40.82
1 - 3	24.68
4 - 10	18.99
11 or more	15.51

Table 6:30

Grades Received by Students

Grades	Percentage
10 (A)	3.51
9 (B)	36.42
8 (C)	53.35
7.5 (D)	3.51
7.5 or less (F)	3.19

grading by subjects need to be conducted to pinpoint areas in which there seems to be an overload of good or bad grades, and whether the grades represent anything close to the reality of the educational system.

The likes and dislikes of Nicaraguan students for various subjects are shown in two different sets of questions to which they were asked to respond. In the first set, students were asked:

Insert Table 6:31

The high regard in which mathematics is held is interesting in light of the almost universal condemnation by public school teachers and university professors on the ability of their students to perform in this crucial area of the curriculum. It is also interesting to note that it ranks at one and the same time as the most popular and least popular subject in the curriculum. On both scales the students show their general dislike for such subjects as art, music and industrial arts, once again pointing to the difficulties in moving the curriculum away from its current academic emphasis to one which has a greater creative and work-oriented base. The students, on another question, were asked which subjects they felt were most important, and the results were almost the same with the exception that educación física was added to the list and was also ranked very low by the students.

Insert Table 6:32

On another question, listing eighteen subjects taught in the secondary schools and asking for a ranking of their preferences, the students ranked the traditional academic subjects at the top and once again vocational and creative subjects were at the bottom. The same attitudes

Table 6:31

Favorite Subjects

Subject Named as Favorite	Percentage	Subject Named as Least Favorite	Percentage
Mathematics	41.63	Mathematics	18.09
Natural Sciences	14.75	Painting and Drawing	18.09
Foreign Languages	13.77	Industrial Arts	17.02
Social Studies	12.46	Music	14.18
Spanish	7.21	Foreign Language	11.70
Painting and Drawing	3.93	Social Studies	11.35
Music	3.93	Natural Sciences	5.32
Industrial Arts	2.30	Spanish	4.26

Table 6:32

Perceived Importance of Subjects

Subject	Mean	Standard Deviation
Mathematics	1.6727	1.44
Spanish	3.0336	1.53
Natural Sciences	3.6591	1.54
Foreign Language	3.7724	1.80
Social Sciences	4.3243	1.56
Industrial Arts and Home Economics	6.1523	1.48
Physical Education	6.5407	1.45
Music and Art	6.6494	1.45

are exhibited when students were asked whether vocational and agricultural courses should be required of all secondary students. Only 41% supported requiring vocational education and 49% agricultural education. These figures, however, could be interpreted extremely positively in light of the 89% who would like to participate in some form of work-study program for credit. It could be that students are reflecting in their attitudes only their dislike for vocational or creative subjects as they are now taught, not a deep-seated prejudice against the area as such.

Sixty-one percent of the secondary students support the concept of elective courses, even though hardly any of them have even experienced such a program, and eighty-eight percent believe that students should have the right to aid in the planning of what occurs in the classroom. These attitudes parallel quite closely those held by the secondary teachers and directors and thus the time would seem to be ripe for experiments with electives and student planning.

Guidance services are extremely limited at the present time at all levels of education in Nicaragua, but there are plans to expand these services over the next few years. For this reason, the researchers hoped to gain some important information about student needs for guidance, and to see if they would use them. Ninety-eight percent of the students expressed a desire for guidance services and 89% said that they would like specific help with choosing an occupation. Students were also supportive of guidance in the area of personal problems, with 72% saying they would avail themselves of such help if it were available. The only evidence which suggests that there might be some difficulty in setting

up meaningful guidance services is the student responses about who they apparently turn to for help in solving their personal problems.

Insert Table 6:33

Similar responses were gained when students were asked who was the most important person in their live. The importance of the family is obvious in these statistics and, in particular, the mother in the life of Nicaraguan young people, but extreme reluctance to go to teachers for help with personal problems does not bode well for any effective, meaningful guidance services.

From the results on the 5-point semantic differential scale dealing with student attitudes towards their professors, school attendance and their own school, it is obvious that Nicaraguan students think highly of these aspects of their education. On the five-point scale, almost all the scores ranked at or above the 4 level with comparatively small standard deviations.

Insert Table 6:33

Another regrettable correlation is the fact that Ciclo Básico students are significantly more negative about vocational programs than those in Ciclo Diversificado, in spite of or perhaps because of the fact that they are required to take one hour per week. This does not speak well for the vocational training, which in all too many instances is poorly taught in poorly equipped workshops. Boys are significantly more opposed to vocational programs than girls, which also has rather profound implications for curricular reform.

Table 6:33

To Whom Do You Go With Your Personal Problems?

	Percentage
Both parents	36.96
Mother	24.51
No one	15.18
Father	8.17
Friends	6.23
Brothers and sisters	3.89
Relatives	4.28
Priests or nuns	.04
Teachers	.04

Table 6:34

Student Attitudes Towards Teachers

Attribute							Media	Standard Deviation
Likeable	5	4	3	2	1	Not likeable	4.04	1.21
Intelligent						Stupid	4.38	1.06
Well bred						Poorly raised	4.35	1.15
Cultured						Uncultured	4.38	1.11
Calm						Excitable	3.95	1.26
Kind						Cruel	4.27	1.04
Pleasant						Disagreeable	4.22	1.03
Attractive						Unattractive	3.97	1.14
Successes						Failures	4.13	1.09
Happy						Sad	4.08	1.10
Disciplined						Undisciplined	4.44	.98

Dissatisfaction with the schools seems to be correlated with how long a student has been in school, as the students in the lower years of Ciclo Básico are significantly more positive in their attitude towards their professors, and are more likely to see the schools as better equipped, and they generally like school better. This might be due to many causes: 1) Some of the curriculum tends to be repetitious, thus leading to boredom on the part of the older students. 2) In many of the smaller schools one teacher teachers all years of a subject; this can be all right if the teacher is a good teacher and well trained, but if not, great dissatisfaction can result. 3) There is, in Nicaragua as in many other countries, a desire on the part of older secondary students to want to get it over with and get into the world of work or into the university.

As might be expected, students who come from less well educated families were more likely to want to participate in a work-study program, and in addition were significantly more likely to want guidance services in the schools. They also tend to see their professors in a better light than do those who come from educated homes.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION OF NICARAGUAN YOUTH

The Sample

The sample for this study on educational attitudes consisted of a group of first year students in Ciclo Diversificado in one of the secondary schools of Managua, and third year education students, most of whom were practicing teachers, at one of the two universities, also located in Managua. A total of fifty-one respondents are to be found in the total sample with the use of sophisticated statisical techniques and the assistance of the University of Colorado computer, numerous statistically significant results were obtained, even though the sample was somewhat limited in size. The schools involved in the research are not identified as all individuals and institutions, were guaranteed complete anonymity.

Hypotheses

Based on the researcher's past experience and studies in Nicaragua, the following hypotheses were stated as the basis for the research.

1) Respondents at all levels will evidence significantly more conservative or traditional attitudes than liberal or progressive ones.
2) On items involving criticism of the schools, respondents will be more positive than negative in their criticism.

3) Female respondents will be significantly more conservative than male respondents in their educational attitudes.
4) Those who identify themselves as Catholics as opposed to Protestants or having no religion, will be significantly more conservative and traditional.
5) Respondents in the secondary school will be significantly more traditional in their educational attitudes than those at the university.
6) Respondents whose parents had some education will be significantly more liberal in their attitudes.
7) International travel and living abroad will prove to be a significant liberalizing factor.
8) Respondents reporting poorer grades in school will be significantly more critical and conservative in their educational attitudes.
9) Respondents indicating a greater liking of school will be significantly more conservative but less critical in their educational attitudes.

Instrumentation and Further Hypotheses

It had originally been decided by the researcher to develop a questionnaire specifically geared to what was known about the Nicaraguan educational system, its orgaization, teaching methods, curriculum, and teacher training. Due to problems

of test validation and item reliability, however, it was decided that it would be better to use an already established instrument, which dealt with progressive and traditional educational attitudes, on a variety of dimensions. The most widely used instrument of this type in the world today was developed eighteen years ago by Kerlinger, and since that time has been revised and refined many times. In addition, it has been tested and analyzed in over fifteen different countries, including some within Central and South America. It was decided, however, that an origianl translation, with some slight adaptation to meet the needs of the Nicaraguan sample, would be better than using one from another Latin American country, as each has its own educational, cultural and linguistic peculiarities.

The instrument consists of forty-six items, evenly divided between what Kerlinger has called "Progressivism" and "Traditionalism." In addition, the instrument has been factor analyzed and seven basic factors have been identified. It was hypothesized by the researcher that on a scale of greatest to least agreement, the Nicaraguan sample would place the seven factors in the following order: 1. Learning as Storing Knowledge 2. Educational Conservatism 3. Criticism of the Schools 4. Life Adjustment 5. Experimentalism 6. Reconstructionism 7. Romatic Naturalism.

On the Nicaraguan instrument only 45 of the original items were used. On each item, the respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statement on a six point Likert scale: Agree Very Strongly +3, Agree Strongly +2, Agree +1, Disagree -1, Disagree Strongly -2, Disagree Very Strongly -3. The instrument is included at the end of this report.

Limitations of the Research

The most obvious limitation of the research is the size of the sample, however, through sophisticated statistical procedures a large number of significant results, at the .01 and .05 levels were obtained. This study does not purport to give the educational attitudes of the teachers currently teaching in the schools of Nicaragua. although a portion of the university members of the sample are currently teaching. There are always the limitaions involved in translating an instrument from one language and culture to another, however, these were minimized through the use of bi-lingual translators, backtranslation, and the pre-testing of the instrument. Familiarity with the Likert-type scales or lack thereof can also be a limitation, but the researcher found this to be overcome very quickly by respondents at all levels. The final limitation is one which faces all researchers attempting to conduct attitude surveys, namely, the correlation between

attitudes expressed on an instrument such as Kerlinger's and actual teaching behavior. Since such a small portion of the sample were practicing teachers, this was not considered to be a problem in the research. The purpose of this research was to test expressed attitudes of the recipients of the education, not the attitudes or behaviors of actual teachers.

Statistical Analysis

Using a generalized correlation program, means and standard deviations were obtained for all items, and each independent and dependent variable was correlated with all other variables. In addition, extensive series of factor analyses were run on the data, but the results of that analysis will not be dealt with in this report, but rather, Kerlinger's seven basic factors will be used, as they have held up well in studies done in other countries.

In addition to individual mean scores, means were also computed for each of the two scales, "Progressivism," and "Traditionalism." Mean scores for each of Kerlingers' seven factors were also computed.

Progressivism and Traditionalism

For over seventy years, since John Dewey first outlined two fundamental viewpoints on education, researchers have attempted to determine the exact nature of these two basic educational positions, which have come to be known as

progressivism and traditionalism. Kerlinger and other researcners have also come to the conclusion that two basic factors, relatively uncorrelated with each other, underlie attitudes toward education. Althouth sub-factors are found in these two basic positions, and the number of these sub-factors may differ from sample to sample, the basic factors (progressivism and traditionalism) remain invariant over different samples.

Kerlinger defines an "attitudinal referent" as something which stands for a set or category of social objects, ideas or behaviors that can be the focus of an attitude. Religion, race, private property, self, subject matter, teaching, discipline, and marriage, for example are possible referents of attitudes. The term "criterial" connotes a standard, a means of judging relevance. What is criterial or basic for one person is not necessarily basic for another person.

In the area of educational attitudes, there are two basic subsets, a dualism which we call here, progressivism and traditionalism. The traditionalist sees discipline, subject matter, moral standards, and other such things as his basic referents, while the progressive looks to such things as the needs of children, individual differences, and social learning as criterial or basic. One would expect that progressives would disapprove of statements giving a

traditionalist point of view and vice versa, but this conclusion has been proven to be incorrect. Since attitudes are based on the criteriality of referents, there is no way of predicting how progressives or traditionalists will respond on items which for them are not basic or criterial.

Although for any particular progressive individual the traditionalist items will not trigger any basic negative response, on those items or statements which are criterial for him, there might be a strongly negative response. On the whole, however, the two dimensions, progressivism and negativism, are relatively uncorrelated, and respondents, although tending to be much more strongly in approval of one set of items, will not necessarily be in disapproval of items on the other scale.

The duality of the two scales has been shown on numerous other samples throughout the world, and also on the Nicaraguan sample, as will be discussed later. The responses to almost all the items were approving on both the progressivism and traditionalism scales, once again demonstrating what has been shown in most of the studies, that the scales are not bipolar, and are relatively uncorrelated, allowing for positive responses on both traditionalist and progressivist items.

Results

The first major hypothesis, that the respondents would evidence significantly more conservative or traditional attitudes than liberal or progressive ones was disproved by the results, which show a mean of 2.17 on the Progressivism scale, with a mean of 2.55 on the Traditionalism scale. See Table I for further details on items contained in each scale. This was a significant difference in the two means, and indicates a strong underlying progressive set of attitudes on the part of Nicaraguan secondary school and university students. On a six point scale from 1 being in strong agreement to 6 being in strong disagreement, a mean of 2.17, indicates a high degree of agreement. The mean of 2.55 on the traditionalism scale would appear to be contradictory on the face of it, but the reader is reminded of the extensive research referred to earlier, which indicates the relatively uncorrelated nature of the two scales.

TABLE I

Means and Items on Each Scale

Means	Items	Scale
2.17	3,4,5,7,9,10,13,14,15,19,20,21, 24,26,27,29,30,35,36,40,42,44,45	Progressivism
2.55	1,2,6,8,11,12,16,17,18,22,23, 25,28,31,32,33,34,37,38,39,41,43,	Traditionalism

The second hypothesis conserning the respondents reactions to items criticizing the schools was upheld, as evidenced by a mean of 2.94 on the Criticism of the Schools subscale or factor. This was the highest mean for any of the subscales and indicates the respondents, although slightly in agreement with the items, were not nearly so willing to criticize the present schools as they were to take progressive or traditional stands on other issues, as represented by the other six factors.

It is difficult to make a judgment on the third hypothesis concerning the conservative nature of female respondents as opposed to males, due to the fact that on only three items was there a signigicant difference at the .05 level and only one of the forty-five at the .01 level. On three of these four items and a large majority of the rest of the items, however, the female respondents indicated more progressive attitudes than did the males, so that this hypothesis would have to be rejected.

Hypothesis number four, that Catholics would be more conservative in their educational attitudes than would those who identified themselves as being Protestant, other or having no religion, was also rejected, as no significant difference could be found between the groups on any of the forty-five items. If anything, the Catholic respondents were slightly more in

agreement with progressive items than were the rest of the sample, although, as was mentioned, this was not significant at even the .05 level, so no real judgment can be made.

The best predictors of attitudes proved to be age and year in school, where in twelve different items a significant difference was found in eight at the .05 level of significance and four at the .01 level. On ten of these twelve, and on a large majority of the rest of the forty-five items, the younger students in the first year of Ciclo Diversificado tended to be more traditional in their educational attitudes, when compared with the respondents at the University, thus upholding the hypothesis as stated.

Although parental education proved to be a significant factor on seven different items, six at the .05 level and one at the .01 level, it is impossible to make any judgment concerning the progressive or traditional nature of respondents' educational attitudes, as they tended to spread across the continuum. This phenomenon will be discussed further in the discussion-interpretation section of this report. The same was true of students with international travel experience, which loaded significantly on three items, but which did not prove to be a good predictor of direction of educational attitudes.

Neither the student's grades nor his like or dislike of school proved to be a good predictor of educational attitudes.

A total of six items loaded significantly at the .01 or .05 levels, but in neither these nor the other items could any pattern of response be found.

Table II presents the mean scores on each of the seven scales identified in Kerlinger's factor analysis. It was hypothesized that the lowest mean scores would be for those factors generally following with the traditionalism scale: Learning as Storing Knowledge, Educational Conservatism, and Criticism of the Schools, while the more progressive factors would have higher means or represent less agreement, namely: Life Adjustment, Experimentalism, Reconstructionism, and Romantic Naturalism.

TABLE II

Mean Scores, Item Numbers, and Basic Factors

Mean Scores	Item Numbers	Factor
2.94	1,2,12,32,37,38,42,43	Criticism of the Schools
2.15	11,17,23	Learning as Storing Knowledge
2.56	16,17,25,28,31,32, 34,38,43	Educational Conservatism
1.94	21,24,36,40,44,45	Experimentalism
1.93	4,5,13,29	Reconstructionism
2.12	2,7,14,15,19,20	Life Adjustment
2.32	3,9,10,26,27,35	Romantic Naturalism

The mean scores on the seven factors once again disproved the basic hypothesis about the educational traditionalism of Nicaraguan youth. With the exception of the Learning as

Storing Knowledge items, the responents rated every one of the progressive factors lower or were in greater agreement, than with the traditional scales. What Kerlinger calls Experimentalism and Reconstructionism were found to have the greatest degree of agreement, with respondents also in high agreement on the Life Adjustment and Learning as Storing Knowledge factors. Educational Conservatism and criticism of the schools evidenced the least degree of agreement, but all seven factors had means of less than three, thus placing them on the agreement side of the six point Likert scale.

Interpretation of Results

It would be difficult to provide an interpretation for each of the results on the forty-five item scale, but comments on a few of the items and the seven scales would appear warranted. In looking at the individual items on the seven scales, one is struck by the great range of responses on some scales and the homogeneity on others.

Almost without exception, those items which make up the Criticism of the Schools factor have the highest mean scores. This was in keeping with the hypothesis that the Nicaraguan respondents would not be overly critical of their schools. One interpretation of this could be that there is little in the Nicaraguan educational system of which to be critical, but

with large classes, lack of equipment, antiquated teaching methods and a host of other problems which face not only Nicaragua, but most other developing nations, it is more likely that there are better explanations for the phenomenon. The most logical explanation is that Nicaraguan students, many of whom are of the first educated generation have to compare their schools to and are generally extremely grateful to be receiving any kind of education, something which 90% of their age-group are unable to do. To criticize the schools would be to criticize one's best hope for improving oneself within the society. A second explanation lies deeper within Latin American and particularly within Nicaraguan culture namely; the deep respect or even fear of authority, tradition and power, which permeate not only the schools, but all other parts of the society. Although respondents were assured anonymity in their responses, there will always be the fear that those in authority might not like their reactions to the schools and that retributive action might be taken. The tolerance of Nicaraguans to put up with every manner of inconvenience is legendary, and this trait might also play a role in the repondents refusal to severely criticize their schools.

Another reason for the comparative lack of agreement on items offering criticism of the schools is that these schools are basically traditional in their basic philosophy and practice

and thus statements such as number one about the neglect of the basics, would not have the same relevance as it would for a progressive school in the United States. Nicaraguan schools do not "waste" money on "frills" of any kind, thus agreement on such questions could not be expected.

It is interesting to note, however, that the items on which there was the strongest agreement and disagreement, both fall in the conservatism-traditionalism factor. Respondents felt very strongly that teachers should outline in detail what is to be done and how to go about it, were in strong disagreement with any emphasis upon competition or struggle in the schools. The first response is probably one which a majority of students feel, as the desire for structure in an educational setting is nearly universal. This in no way denies the validity of non-structured, non-formal education, but it does indicate that one of the most difficult aspects of instituting progressive reforms into the schools is the desire for structure. The strong opposition to competition in the classroom is possible due to the rejection of the competitive ethic, a trait not only found in Nicaragua, but in many other parts of Latin America. It is probably more due, however, to the fear, which all students feel, of failure in a competive situation. With the high failure rates so prevalent at all levels of the Nicaraguan educational system, it is with some justification

that Nicaraguan students strongly reject a highly competitive classroom situation.

The traditionalism of the responses dealing with learning theory is no doubt partially due to the lack of variety in the settings for learning provided in the classrooms of Nicaragua. If one has only experienced the rote-memorization-testing-recitation type of learning, it is unlikely that he will reject it, unless he knows of alternative forms. Like all revolutions, dissatisfaction is greater among the enlightened than among the unenlightened.

The reconstructionist ideas about the schools stimulating social change and being the source of new ideas proved to be popular with the respondents. In Nicaragua, as in most of the developing world, the schools are looked upon as a major change agent, even though they more than not tend to be perpetuators of the status quo, and protectors of the cultural heritage. It is possible that as a nation develops economically and industrially, it drops a reconstructionist philosophy and adopts a more basically conservative educational tradition.

One item on which respondents strongly disagreed was number thirty, that teachers should be permitted to teach what they think is right and proper. One explanation is that there is not much of a tradition of academic freedom in the public schools of Nicaragua. Curricula have generally been set by

a governmental ministry and although there is no strict supervision, teachers are supposed to follow the prescribed plans and programs. A related factor is the lack of formal training or education on the part of many of the teachers in the schools. This has led to a lack of faith in their abilities by both the government and their students. No doubt as teachers are better educated, a tradition of academic freedom will develop.

Items grouped under the factor of experimentalism were generally agreed to by the respondents. Critical analysis, the study of other political and economic systems, and the testing of alternatives are all seen as positive educational values. Although these perspectives do not dominate the practice of Nicaraguan education, they are found in almost every listing of goals and objectives on the national level and even in each curriculum guide at every grade level. The ideas of what Kerlinger has labeled Romantic Naturalism and Life Adjustment did not prove to be as popular as those of Reconstructionism and Experimentalism. Concepts such as a child's problem, needs or interest based curriculum, and the teaching for attitudes and values, as opposed to subject matter, are things which are not to be found in either the stated goals of the educational system or in the classroom practice of Nicaraguan schools. It is likely, therefore, that

this was the first time that the respondents had ever been faced with such ideas, and this led to the variation in response.

Conclusion

It is obvious from the results that the responses from the Nicaraguan sample demonstrate once again the duality of the traditional and progressive scales, and although they evidence a considerably greater degree of agreement with the progressive items, they are not in disagreement with traditional educational points of view. This duality was also seen in a high degree of acceptance of Experimentalist and Reconstructionist ideas, while at the same time accepting rather traditional learning theory. Criticism of the schools was muted for reasons listed earlier.

It is difficult to come up with any "attitudinal referents," as defined by Kerlinger, but of the various attempts to find such referents, very few were successful. By far the best predictors of educational attitudes were year in school and age, with the older university students evidencing significantly more progressive attitudes on most items than did younger secondary students. This was no doubt due to their experience and their greater contact with progressive educational ideas in their educational studies, something not available to the regular secondary school students.

CHAPTER 7

THE ECONOMY AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

Agriculture

To speak of the Nicaraguan economy is to speak of Agriculture. The reason for its importance is that half of the agricultural products of Nicaragua are exported and make up well over fifty percent of the nation's total exports, in addition to the fact that well over half of the manufactures of the country involve the processing of agricultural products. Although the percentages have been dropping, the number of persons involved in the agricultural sector is still over fifty percent, most as tenants, sharecroppers, or squatters. Since the earthquake in December, 1972, the percentage has declined further as construction jobs became available for a large number of the rural poor.

With a population of approximately 2.2 million persons and a national territory of 57,143 square miles, Nicaragua is the least densely populated country in Central America, with vast amounts of land neither under cultivation, nor used for stockraising. By some estimates, over seventy percent of the nation is appropriate for some form of agriculture or stockraising, and yet only 30% is in actual production. The Nicaraguan Agrarian Reform Law of 1963 was supposed to effect fundamental changes in the land tenure system through expropriating and dividing under-utilized "latifundios" and opening new lands to production, but with the exception of a few feeble attempts

in the area of Nueva Guinea, the law has had no significant effect on the living conditions of the rural poor. What little expropriation there was, was halted in 1968, and since 1963, the largest farms have grown in number and increased their share of the nation's farmland from 41% to 48% of the total, even though they make up but 1.8% of the total number of farms.

Statistics indicate the degree to which poverty pervades the Nicaraguan countryside. Forty-three percent of the farms have less than 7 hectares (approximately 17.3 acres), with 36% of the rural families in the poorest rural regions having no land whatsoever. In these poorest regions, another 41% have insufficient land for basic subsistence, while the largest farms hold two and one-half times as much land out of production as the mass of small farmers has under cultivation. Illiteracy reaches 70% or more in the countryside, while infant mortality rates among the rural poor are conservatively estimated to be as high as 120 per 1000 live births. Child mortality accounts for 32% of all deaths in Nicaragua. In 1975, it was estimated that 57% of all children in the country suffered from at least mild malnutrition, with tens of thousands of severely malnourished children among the population at large. Official unemployment in the countryside is pegged at 35% compared with 22% in the population as a whole, but with the compounded problems of lack of land ownership, illiteracy, malnutrition and disease, the actual rate is considerably higher.

The 1971 census gave further indication of poverty, not only among the rural poor, but the masses in the cities as well. Forty-seven percent of the homes in the country have no sanitary facilities, with the figure reaching 81% in the rural areas. Ninety-nine percent of the rural population have no drinking water. Inequality of income distribution is shown in the figures that 50% of the population has a median income of less than $90 per year, controlling 15% of the GNP, while the top 5% of the population has a median income of $1800 per year and controls 30% of the GNP.

These statistics are necessary to truly understand the agricultural situation and the extent of poverty in Nicaragua, which are all too often obscured by the gross numbers listed by the World Bank and USAID. On the basis of acreage, corn is the largest crop in Nicaragua, but if one ranks the value of the crop, cotton is by far the most important, followed by coffee, with rice rapidly moving up as a cash crop. Animal husbandry, primarily cattle, is also significantly more important than corn, while sugar cane and bananas are crops being developed for their export potential.

Transportation and storage problems have plagued the agricultural sector, as has lack of credit. The growth of foreign agribusiness firms and the dominance of the Somoza family in the ownership of land, production of agricultural goods and the import and export of agricultural products have given Nicaragua a "good" investment climate, but have had little positive effect on the quality of life of the hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguan rural poor. Such corporate giants as Booth Fisheries (Division of Consolidated Foods Corp.). General Mills, Nabisco,

Nestle, Quaker Oats, Ralston Purina, Standard Fruit and United Fruit have all invested heavily in Nicaragua in recent years, often in conjunction with Somoza enterprises.

Industry

The Somoza family holdings and those of foreign corporations are not limited to the area of agri-business. The Somoza family has holdings, and often monopolies, in such diverse fields as air and shipping lines, port facilities, tourism, media (radio, television, and newspapers), construction, cememt metals, textiles, banking, and insurance, to name just a few. In addition, members of the family are on the boards of numerous private corporations, and the family controls such public enterprises as ENALUF, the National Power Company. Some thirty U.S. oil companies have searched for oil in Nicaragua, so far without much success, and coal appears to be in short supply, but the nation's hydroelectric potential is great, and some strides have been made in recent years to bring electric power to other than the urban areas and industrial and commercial establishments.

Mining was an important part of the Nicaraguan economy in the last century, but today makes up less than 2% of the gross domestic product and less than 8% of the exports. Gold and silver have been replaced by copper as the major mineral. Manufacturing has played an increasing role in the Nicaraguan economy, with foodstuffs by far the most important product. These are followed in order of value by chemicals, beverages, shoes and clothing, petroleum products, textiles, tobacco, metal products, and nonmetallic mineral products to round out the top ten. Industrial production, like most of the agricultural

production, is concentrated on the Pacific coastal region, with a small amount in the mountainous center region, and little on the Atlantic coast.

Effects of the Earthquake on the Economy

Even prior to the earthquake, the construction industry was an important and growing sector of the Nicaraguan economy, and a brief look at the damage estimates gives an indication as to its importance in the years since. Between 220,000 and 250,000 persons were displaced by the earthquake in Managua, which destroyed or seriously damaged 53,000 homes. Ninety-five percent of the small workshops and factories were destroyed in the city, along with most of the commercial buildings and warehouses. Almost all the government and private office buildings were destroyed or made uninhabitable, in addition to four hospitals and 740 classrooms. Final damage estimates came between 800 million and one billion dollars in a nation with a gross domestic product of not much more than a billion dollars.

International aid in the form of loans and grans has been funneled into the Nicaraguan economy since the earthquake to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars. Most of this money has been earmarked for reconstruction projects in and around the destroyed capital of Managua, with roads, hospitals, schools and public buildings receiving top priority. Reports of the mismanagement of reconstruction funds is rampang, and given the lack of progress in rebuilding the city, there would appear to be severe problems.

Other Aspects of the Economy

Throughout much of its history, the trade in local handicrafts was a crucial aspect of the economy, but this has decreased in recent years as central sources of supply, many of them imports from overseas, have replaced locally made products. This dependence on imports was heightened considerably by the earthquake, to the extent that many economists fear that the nation has vastly overcommitted itself to the U.S., other countries and international lending agencies, with outstanding debts of over 1/2 billion dollars. Progress is being made in the extension of a communications and transportation network to the rural areas of the country, but the nation still tends to lag behind most other Latin American countries in getting these services to the rural poor. Paved highways still number in the hundreds rather than thousands of miles, the cost of electricity is too high for most of the rural poor to afford, and potable drinking water is still a luxury in most rural communities.

While the value of Nicraraguan exports has risen steadily over the past twenty years, they have not kept pace with the imports. One of the reasons for the growing disparity has been the instability of prices in agricultural products and raw materials which go to make up the vast majority of Nicaraguan exports. The earthquake proved to be an additional strain on the balance of payments; with so much of the productive capacity destroyed, there was an increased need for imported goods. Rising expectations and needs, particularly of the middle and upper classes has proven a further cause.

Labor

Since 1945, labor has been governed by a comprehensive set of laws and codes, but Nicaraguans have found that centuries of subsistence farming and plantation agriculture traditions are not easily replaced by laws, particularly in as centralized and controlled an economic environment as is to be found in Nicaragua. Labor unions exist, but in a nation with such a vast problem of unemployment and underemployment, they have found themselves nearly powerless. Since the earthquake some unions have successfully exerted power, but for the most part the Nicaraguan worker, whether in the city or rural area, remains nearly powerless.

Minimum wage laws are in effect, but still provide for not much more than $1 per day in many occupations, with factory and some construction workers receiving up to $3 per day since the earthquake. With the worldwide inflation and the localized inflation caused by the earthquake, wages in recent years have tended to fall considerably behind the rise in the cost of living. Laws on child-labor, a 48-hour work week, and social security benefits have been passed, but have little or no effect on the vast majority of the population who work as subsistence farmers, self-employed entrepreneurs in marginal small business, or who of necessity have their children work to support their families.

Wages have traditionally been highest in governmental positions, followed by commerce, construction, industry and agriculture. Professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and dentists can and do make a good living by international standards, while those Nicaraguans in high governmental positions or from "old" families live well, while the lower-level government employees, of whom teachers form a large part, must often hold two

or three positions to make ends meet. The fifty percent of the population who find themselves in subsistence farming, with an annual income of under $90, have little contact with the modern wectors of the ecbnomy and tend to be the "forgotten majcrity" of Nicaraguan society.

Characteristics of the Labor Force

The 1971 census found a decrease in the economically active population. Part of this was no doubt due to better census taking procedures, but it does indicate the seriousness of the unemployment and underemployment situation in the country. In 1967, the labor force was estimated to be 550,000 individuals, or around 31% of the total population. In 1971, the total had fallen to 504,240 or only 26% of the total population of the country. The percentage of those involved in agriculture has fallen from 67.7% in 1950 to 59.6% in 1963 and 47% in 1971. As agriculture has fallen, industry and the service occupations have grown, with large numbers of people moving into small repair shops and other types of businesses, and since the earthquake into construction jobs.

The 1971 census listed 30,000 persons in professional, technical, or administrative positions; 21,000 office employees, 36,000 businessmen and salesmen; 110,000 workers and artisans; 71,000 independent workers, and 235,000 in agriculture and fishing. These are rough estimates and the categories are so broad as to include all government officials, including teachers, in the professional category, while a person may be classified as a businessman even though he makes a poverty income selling gum or shining shoes. The categories, although they sound the same as those used in more economically developed nations, do not represent the

same levels of income or prestige. Teachers and other government employees making between $100 and $200 monthly may be listed as professionals, but their salaries and the prestige accorded them in the society belie the title. Statistics on the social class makeup of Nicaraguan society are at best guesstimates, but the vast maldistribution of wealth in the society referred to earlier in the agricultural sector is also true throughout the rest of the society. Consequently, Nicaragua has one of the smallest middle-classes in all of Latin America, with estimates ranging from 5-20% of the population. This reality has a rather profound effect on the possibilities of Nicaraguan youth escaping their lower class urban backgrounds or the rural farms from which they come. In Chapter 6, the importance placed on education by Nicaraguan young people was documented, but it appears that without a significant change in the social, economic and political structure of the society at large, most of these young people will join the disillusioned masses of the under-employed educated classes, which populate the cities of most of the developing world today.

Attitudes toward Work

In attempting to get at Nicaraguan attitudes towards work, several questions were asked on the Culture-Belief Systems instrument, and the results tend to support the view that at least among the educated classes in the secondary schools and universities, the North American, European work ethic has become the dominant value position, although the standard deviations indicate somewhat widespread disagreement on many of the items. Table 7:1 summarizes the relevant questions and the responses of the sample

Table 7:1

Attitudes Toward Work

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
6. It is God's Will that some be born poor and remain poor.	19.5	11.0	8.6	5.7	53.3	1.9	3.64	1.66
7. It one only works hard enough, he can overcome poverty.	63.3	18.6	1.0	6.7	9.5	1.0	1.79	1.32
8. Rewards in heaven are more important than rewards on earth.	49.5	13.3	13.3	5.7	15.7	2.4	2.23	1.51
11. Wealthy people deserve more respect than poor people	2.9	4.3	2.4	3.8	84.8	1.0	4.67	.94
16. It is better to work in an office for less money than to work in a factory or workshop at a higher salary.	9.0	15.2	15.2	13.8	45.2	1.4	3.72	1.41
17. When a poor person gets rich, it is usually good luck which helped him attain it.	11.9	12.4	9.5	16.7	47.6	1.9	3.77	1.46
28. God helps those who help themselves.	68.1	8.1	6.2	1.4	15.2	1.0	1.87	1.48
39. It is better to spend one's money than to save it for the future.	12.4	9.5	9.0	12.4	54.8	1.9	3.89	1.47
43. Latin Americans are more concerned with the things of the spirit and the mind than are N. Americans.	40.0	11.0	19.5	10.5	16.2	2.9	2.51	1.52
44. North Americans are only interested in the material side of life or making money.	41.9	18.6	16.2	7.1	11.4	4.8	2.24	1.39
47. To be doing nothing is immoral. One should always be involved in constructive work of some sort.	64.3	12.9	7.6	4.8	9.5	1.0	1.81	1.33
60. Life on a farm is better than life in a large industrial city.	12.9	11.4	14.3	11.9	42.9	6.7	3.65	1.49

population, two-thirds of whom were secondary school students and one-third of whom were university students.

Responses to statement 6 would appear to indicate a shift away from traditional Latin American perspectives that Fate or God are somehow responsible for one's poverty, while number 7 indicates strong support for what might be termed the puritan work ethic. Given the working class backgrounds of most of the sample, as opposed to the extreme rural poverty discussed earlier in this chapter, it is perhaps not surprising to find this latent middle class espousing a strong work ethic. Being a nominally Catholic nation, the support for rewards in heaven is not too surprising, while respect in the abstract sense is to be accorded to all individuals regardless of wealth.

In statement 6 we were attempting to get the stigmatization of certain types of occupations, and the desire of the young to enter more prestigious occupations, regardless of the salary. A strong majority rejected such a propisition, however, probably due in part to their own working-class backgrounds and the tenuousness of the financial situation of most of their families. The students once again affirmed their support of hard work in their responses to question seventeen, in which a majority rejected luck or fate as the cause of wealth, while in number 28, over 3/4 of the sample population affirmed the aphorism that "God helps those who help themselves." Traditional Latin American values hold that one should not save or worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow you may die. This position was strongly rejected in number 39, where the value of thrift and saving appears to have made a strong impact on

this student sample. Statements 43 and 44 represent traditional stereotypes which Latin Americans have of North Americans, and it would appear from the responses that it is not just the uneducated which hold to these positions, but a healthy majority of the newly educated, middle class as well. Given the active involvement of American businessmen and the U.S. military in Nicaragua for the past seventy years, such a stereotype has no doubt been reinforced many times over in the minds of Nicaraguan young people.

If North Americans have been stereotyped as being hyperactive and unable to relax and have a good time, Latin Americans have had the reverse stereotype, namely of always seeking a good time and seldom putting work before pleasure. Our student sample overwhelmingly rejected this stereotype in affirming that one should <u>always</u> be involved in constructive work of some sort, and that doing nothing is immoral. From the sample, it would appear that the educated Nicaraguan youth are now giving verbal assent to most aspects of the work ethic that has traditionally characterized the North American population. Whether this same work ethic has permeated to the lower classes, both rural and urban, we cannot say, but, no doubt, due in part to their working class backgrounds, the mass media, and the schooling process, one can say with some assurance that traditional Latin American values toward the efficacy of work have been replaced to a large extent by those more usually found in the industrialized nations of the North.

Statement 60 on the Culture-Belief Systems instrument states that life on the farm is better than life in the large industrial city. Given

the dominance of agriculture and agri-business in the economy of Nicaragua, one might hope that a majority of Nicaraguan youth would affirm such a statement. Life in the slums of Managua, both before and after the earthquake, has hardly been a pleasant existence and one might think this would promote a return to a less frenetic, and in many ways more healthful rural existence. Nicaraguan young people, however, like young people in almost every nation of the earth reject the rural life in favor of the excitement of the big city, regardless of the "quality" of city life. One reason for the rejection is no doubt the extreme poverty in which the Nicaraguan rural poor find themselves, in addition to the prestige factors which place farming very near the bottom of most occupational lists. Another reason for the rejection might be due to the inherent bias of the sample. Almost all the secondary schools, and all the institutions of higher education are located in urban areas, and are filled with young people from the urban areas. The sample of students responding to this question were all attending institutions in the capital of Managua, or in Bluefields, one of the only urban areas on the East Coast.

Educational planners must consider the prestige and appropriateness of various occupations when planning an educational system. All too often, vocational and agricultural schools are built, but no one wishes to attend them, while tens of thousands of unemployable secondary school and university graduates are turned out by the bachillerato programs at the secondary school level and from departments of humanities, economics and the social sciences at the University level. It was to get at some

of the incompatibilities of such a system that an instrument on occupational prestige, occupational preference, and the probability of entrance to various occupations was included in our packet of instruments, and whose results are described in the next section.

Occupational Prestige, Preference, and Probability of Entrance

A nation such as Nicaragua does not have the hundreds of definable occupations which might be found in a more industrialized nation, at least not in the same quantities, so that it is easier to study occupational prestige and preferences among the young. We hypothesized that the professional occupations would rank the highest on both the prestige and preference rank orderings, but that when asked about their chances of actually entering these professions, students would exercise reality judgments and list them quite far down the list. Such was not the case, however, as the students not only ranked doctors, lawyers and engineers as the most prestigious and their preferred occupations, but also saw them as the most likely occupations for them to enter. If these statistics are in any way representative of the Nicaraguan student population at large, and I believe that they are, there are going to be a vast number of young people unable to enter their chosen professions. Table 7:2 shows the rank orderings of the three lists.

Place Table 7:2 here

To have one of the professions as an occupational goal is not unusual in any society, but in a society such as Nicaragua, with its small middle and upper classes, social mobility is greatly restricted, and the chances of working class children becoming doctors, lawyers or

TABLE 7:2

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE, PREFERENCE, AND PROBABILITY OF ENTERING
Rank Ordered

Occupation	Prestige		Preference		Probability of Entrance	
	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean
Medical Doctor	1	3.47	1	3.83	1	3.77
Lawyer	2	4.68	2	5.87	3	6.31
Engineer	3	6.74	3	6.19	2	5.64
Secondary School Teacher	4	7.52	6	7.19	5	6.85
Executive in a Large Business Firm	5	7.83	8	8.73	10	8.92
Economist	6	8.43	4	6.60	4	6.68
Secretary	7	8.79	5	6.80	6	7.13
Radio Reporter or Newspaperman	8	9.06	10	9.07	11	9.16
Nurse	9	9.10	7	7.96	8	7.96
Primary School Teacher	10	9.87	13	9.89	7	7.88
Actor or Acteess	11	10.17	9	8189	9	8.75
Politician	12	10.88	13	12.31	13	11.25
Priest or Nun	13	11.39	18	13.83	16	12.37
Bank Teller	14	11.79	11	9.85	12	9.53
Large Farm Owner	15	12.60	16	12.80	14	11.91
Garage Mechanic	16	14.29	20	13.96	18	12.97
Member of the Military Forces	17	14.73	17	13.39	19	13.44
Carpenter	18	15.22	19	13.84	20	13.57
Small Businessman	19	15.58	14	11.83	17	12.63
Small Farmer	20	15.68	15	12.57	15	12.32
Policeman	21	17.27	23	17.03	23	16.56
Gardener	22	19.16	21	15.96	21	15.27
Bus or Taxi Driver	23	19.60	22	16.60	22	15.67
Shoe-Shiner	24	23.01	24	21.05	24	19.53

engineers in the 1970's are very slim. Education serves as a means for the poor to achieve professional status when a limited number of people are being educated, and the "cream of the crop," regardless of wealth or class background are selected for further schooling. When the schools go into a massive expansion phase as they have in Nicaragua, since 1960, and the number of places in prestige departments of the universities remain limited, it is almost inevitable that those from wealthier, better educated backgrounds will get the few coveted positions. When this is true even of such democratic egalitarian nations as the United States and Great Britain, one can be sure that it is even truer in a nation such as Nicaragua. With total secondary school enrollments rising from around 10,000 in 1960 to over 60,000 in 1974, the chances of a lower or working class young person becoming a professional are even more limited than before, and with higher education enrollments going from 891 in 1961 to over 12,000 in 1974, Nicaragua has found itself suffering from the problem of overeducated, underemployed masses of secondary school and university graduates.

A cursory look at what fields students in institutions of higher education are entering gives a further indication of the severity of the problem facing the current generation of Nicaraguan young people. Table 7:3 indicates the imbalance, when medicine, as the most sought-after profession, only enrolls 311 students, and agriculture, the backbone of the Nicaraguan economy, only handles 206 students. On the other hand, 3,569 students are studying economics in a nation already overloaded with economists. Fewer nurses than doctors are being trained, even

though planners indicate the need for two to three technicians for every professional. Over one thousand students are in preparation to become lawyers, even though the nation has a surplus of lawyers, most of whom are badly underemployed or working in jobs not suited to their training. One can only guess at the job frustrations facing the 4500 students in sciences and letters and humanities programs.

Place Table 7:3 here

With the exception of the higher rankings of secondary and primary school teachers than might be expected, the rank orderings of the occupations shown on Table 7:2 are pretty much as had been expected. Part of the bias towards teaching is due no doubt to the experience of the students in the sample, and the fact that many of them were planning to enter these professions despite their poor salaries (under $200 for primary teachers and often not much more for secondary teachers, most of whom are part-time). Nurses are paid at a rate similar to primary teachers and are generally considered as a fairly low occupation, but were ranked higher by this particular sample of secondary students than might be true of their ranking by the society at large.

Although the students ranked a business executive quite high, they evidence a touch of realism by indicating the unlikelihood of their ever occupying such a position. Nicaraguan business at the corporate levels has been controlled by a limited number of families for generations and for working class youth to break into such firms at a high level is unrealistic. Owners of large farms, although some of the wealthiest people in the nation, were given neither much in the way of

TABLE 7:3

1973 ENROLLMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION BY COURSE OF STUDY

Course of Study	Enrollment
Medicine	311
Medical Technology	33
Law	1,134
Pharmacy	160
Dentistry	116
Sciences and Letters	2,876
Physics and Mathematics	1,375
Science of Economics	3,569
Humanities	1,686
Agriculture	206
Nursing	188
Branch Campus (Carazo) (undefined major)	106
Veterminary Medicine	244
Polytechnic Programs	515
Total Enrollment	12,519

prestige by the student sample, nor were students very interested in becoming farmers. The same was even truer of the small farmer, once again indicating the problem of an agricultural nation in which agriculture is not regarded very highly by the people.

Salaries for the military and police tend to be so low, and additionally these positions have been occupied by poorly educated Nicaraguans, that neither was ranked very high on the prestige scales or desire to enter the professions. This is partially due to the nature of Nicaraguan society in which the police and military have not always acted in a fair or even-handed manner, particularly when it comes to "radical students" in the secondary schools and universities. Universal teenage hopes are evidenced in the placing 9th on the scale, becoming an actor or actress, in a nation that produces almost no movies to speak of, and in which few plays are given.

A touch of realism was evidenced in the ranking 6th of the position of secretary. A large percentage of secondary school female graduates find themselves working as secretaries for businesses and the government, with fairly competitive salaries for those who are bilingual. To rank it 7th in prestige, however, might be overstating the case. In all likelihood, the majority of secondary school graduates will find themselves working in functionary positions in the government, secretarial and banking jobs, or as teachers, and with the massive expansion of the university system, and the comparative lack of growth in the job market, the inexorable inflation from bachillerato (high school diploma) to licenciado (university degree) degrees has already begun, just as it has in most other nations of the world.

Nicaraguan youth tend to scorn manual labor occupations, as do most of their counterparts throughout the developing world. With a few exceptions such as Cuba and China, little has been done to dignify manual labor in Third and Fourth World countries, and given the wage scales and working conditions which predominate, it is unlikely that much can be done to change this. Perhaps the most that can be hoped for is vocational guidance programs in the secondary schools and universities which give honest answers to Nicaraguan young people concerning the realities of the economy and their chances for entry into certain occupations.

CHAPTER 8

VALUES, ATTITUDES, PERSONALITY AND SELF-CONCEPT OF NICARAGUAN YOUTH

Value Survey

For the past ten years, one of the most widely used instruments to assess values has been the Rokeach Value Survey. The Survey has been administered to many thousands of people in the United States and several foreign countries, and has proven to be both statistically valid and reliable in its use in the United States. With the lack of representative national samples in some of the cross-cultural studies, it is impossible to state its validity and reliability in other settings, particularly wne translation was involved, as in the Nicaraguan study reported on here. The sample populations, however, are similar in size and makeup, with male and female late adolescents in secondary school and university in the Nicaraguan sample and college-age males in the comparative sample groups in the United States, Australia, Israel and Canada.

Rokeach defines a value as:

> An enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative-importance.[1]

In order to get at which values are more important to an individual than others, the Value Survey asks the respondent to rank 18 instrumental and 18 terminal values. Such a ranking assumes that it is not the presence or absence of a particular value that is of interest, as almost all the values are seen as socially desirable, but rather the rank ordering itself. Rokeach sees instrumental values as desirable modes of conduct, while terminal values are desirable end states of existence. These two realms of values are related but conceptually distinct.

Table 8:1 shows the mean scores and ranking of each of the 18 terminal values, comparing two Nicaraguan samples of 139 and 93 respondents, with samples in the United States, Asutralia, Israel and Canada. The data on the other countries is taken from The Nature of Human Values by Rokeach.[2] Tests for significant differences were run on the two Nicaraguan samples, looking at differences between the sexes, those of different religious and political persuasions, in addition to age and educational differences. Given the non-representative nature of the cross-cultural samples, in addition to the translation problems, no attempts were made to test for statistically significant difference between countries. It is possible, however, to identify specific values which would appear to differentiate Nicaraguan students from their counterparts in the other four countries. Some of these differences are, no doubt, due to culture, while others are perhaps more related to the economic or political system under which the Nicaraguans find themselves.

Insert Table 8:1 here

TABLE 8:1

TERMINAL VALUE MEDIANS AND COMPOSITE RANK ORDERS

	Nicaragua	United States	Australia	Israel	Canada	Nicaragua
N =	139	169	279	71	125	93
A comfortable life	7.5 (6)	10.3 (11)	12.6 (13)	12.8 (15)	11.6 (13)	11.6 (13)
An exciting life	11.3 (14)	10.8 (12)	9.2 (11)	8.7 (9)	9.8 (11)	17.1 (18)
A sense of accokplishment	10.8 (12)	7.1 (5)	6.3 (4)	7.5 (7)	9.2 (8)	11.0 (11)
A world at peace	5.6 (2)	9.3 (10)	8.2 (9)	4.7 (1)	10.0 (12)	2.7 (1)
A world of beauty	13.4 (17)	14.4 (18)	13.0 (15)	14.5 (17)	12.3 (15)	12.8 (15)
Equality	6.8 (4)	12.3 (13)	9.0 (10)	9.3 (10)	9.7 (10)	6.4 (4)
Family security	4.3 (1)	8.1 (7)	9.5 (12)	7.9 (8)	7.5 (7)	6.4 (5)
Freedom	7.0 (50	4.7 (1)	4.9 (3)	6.5 (4)	4.5 (1)	5.1 (3)
Happiness	6.0 (3)	6.2 (2)	7.5 (7)	6.0 (3)	4.7 (2)	4.9 (2)
Inner Harmony	8.7 (10)	8.8 (9)	7.7 (8)	10.9 (13)	7.4 (6)	9.6 (10)
Mature love	9.8 (11)	7.4 (6)	6.6 (50	6.5 (5)	5.6 (3)	11.8 (14)
National security	11.7 (15)	13.8 (17)	13.9 (17)	5.6 (2)	16.6 (17)	11.0 (12)
Pleasure	15.6 (18)	13.1 (15)	12.7 (14)	11.2 (14)	12.3 (14)	15.0 (17)
Salvation	11.4 (16)	13.4 (16)	15.9 (18)	15.9 (18)	17.6 (18)	8.8 (9)
Self-respect	8.3 (8)	7.0 (4)	7.5 (6)	9.7 (11)	6.9 (4)	6.5 (6)
Social recognition	11.2 (13)	12.9 (14)	13.7 (16)	13.5 (16)	13.9 (16)	13.1 (16)
True friendship	8.1 (7)	8.7 (8)	4.9 (2)	10.1 (12)	7.3 (5)	8.8 (8)
Wisdom	8.5 (8)	6.8 (3)	4.7 (1)	7.3 (6)	8.3 (8)	7.0 (7)

Since Rokeach has commented on the differences between the United States and the other three countries, the remarks here will be limited to the differences between Nicaragua and the other sample populations, as well as the differences between identifiable groups within the Nicaraguan sample. The 139 respondent sample was made up primarily of university students while the 93 respondent sample was exclusively secondary students, all in private, protestant secondary schools. The two samples were surprisingly similar given the age and religious differences of the two groups.

Family security was ranked considerably higher by the Nicaraguans than in the other countries, with rankings of 1 and 5 as opposed to 7,8 or 12. One cultural explanation is the great importance of the nuclear and extended family in Nicaraguan and Latin American culture. Another explanation is the unstable nature of many Nicaraguan families, with large portions of the peasant population never having been formally married in either the church or by a magistrate. Nicaraguans ranked A World at Peace as number 1 or 2, a ranking similar to that of the Israelis. Although Nicaragua does not find itself in nearly as hostile an environment as Israel, this ranking could have been predicted, given the nature of decades of border disputes with its neighbors and the constant presence of the Guardia Nacional and the Police in the lives of most Nicaraguans. Nicaragua spends more on "defense" than most of its neighbors and the message appears to have gotten across to its populace.

Another item which appears significantly more important to Nicaraguans than to the other sample group is the concept of equality, which was ranked

number 4, as compared to 10 or 13 in the other nations. Part of this may be due to the Latin American concept of equality of all men before God, spoken of in the chapter on politics, but it is also partly due to the lack of equality which has led some observers to call Nicaragua the "last feudal state." With economic, political, educational and social equality such a long way from reality, it is quite understandable that educated Nicaraguan young people should cherish it as one of the most important terminal values. Having said that about the concept of equality, it is a little more difficult to explain why freedom is ranked lower by Nicaraguans than the other sample groups. It is still ranked high, 3 and 5, but perhaps the rhetoric for freedom is not as pervasive in Nicaragua, as it is in the United States, possibly Nicaraguan young people feel they already have achieved freedom, or perhaps they have given up on ever achieving it, so fail to rank it as highly as a value.

Given the social class background of many of the Nicaraguan students, it is understandable that they would rank A Comfortable Life more highly than the sample groups in the more affluent countries. Nicaraguans ranked wisdom lower than the other groups, but the mean scores were not significantly different, while mature love and a sense of accomplishment were ranked considerably lower than the other sample groups. With no achievement motivation research to back one up, it is risky to say that achievement is not as high a priority in Latin American countries, but some observers would tend to confirm this judgment, while an explanation for the low ranking of mature love is hard to give, except that although

Nicaragua is a Catholic nation, the depth of its Catholicity or Christianity has been questioned by the Vatican, so that love, as either a religious or social concept, is not as deeply embedded within the culture as it is in the other national samples. On most other items the Nicaraguan sample tended to reflect the rankings of the other national groups.

On the instrumental values, the Nicaraguan sample also differed from the other national groups on several items. Honesty was ranked first by all national groups, although one of the Nicaraguan samples rated it a close second. It seems that the phrase "honesty is the best policy" holds true across national and cultural boundaries. To be responsible was also seen by all national groups as a crucial instrumental value. Intellectuality was seen to be significantly more important by the Nicaraguans than the other groups, possibly due to the first generational nature of secondary and higher education for a larger portion of the sample. Helpfulness was also rated higher by the Nicaraguan respondents than by the other groups, as was cleanliness. In a nation with high disease and infant mortality rates, cleanliness probably takes on a greater sense of importance than it does in nations where these problems are not so rampant. One last value rated higher by the Nicaraguan sample is that of obedience. How much of the importance of this value can be attributed to traditional Nicaraguan and Latin American values, and how much is due to the nature of the political state in the country is impossible to say, but the fact that the Nicaraguan samples ranked it 6th and 12th, while the other samples ranked it 17th and 18th, is a noteworthy fact.

Insert Table 8:2 here

Three instrumental values were ranked significantly lower by the Nicaraguan sample groups, ambitious, broadminded and forgiving. Ambition is an achievement-oriented objective, and its low rating by the Nicaraguan sample, 15th and 18th, correlates with the low ranking of a sense of accomplishment on the terminal values scale. The low ranking of forgiveness is in keeping with the low ranking of salvation on the other scale. Both are religious concepts, and lack of the religiosity of Nicaraguan society has been referred to elsewhere in this document. Interestingly enough, one of the only statistically significant findings on the differences between men and women was on the concept of salvation, which women ranked higher thab men. The Nicaraguan church has been no different from other Latin American churches in being predominantly female in attendance and devotion. Many male Nicaraguan acquaintances of the author have stated that the church enters their lives only at baptism, marriage and death.

In the analysis for differences between males and females, statistically significant differences were found in the males ranking capable and intellectual more highly than the females on the instrumental values scale, while the females ranked cheerful, obedient and responsible more highly. The only other significant difference between the sexes, other than the higher female ranking of salvation, was the males placing wisdom much higher on the terminal values scale. When religion was taken as the crucial variable, Catholics ranked a comfortable life, family security,

TABLE 8:2

INSTRUMENTAL VALUE MEDIANS AND COMPOSITE RANK ORDERS

	Nicaragua	United States	Australia	Israel	Canada	Nicaragua
N =	139	169	279	71	125	93
Ambitious	11.5 (15)	6.4 (3)	7.8 (6)	8.7 (7)	9.4 (110	15.9 (18)
Broadminded	10.1 (13)	6.7 (4)	4.6 (2)	9.2 (9)	6.4 (4)	13.2 (16)
Capable	8.6 (8)	7.5 (5)	8.2 (8)	6.5 (4)	9.9 (12)	10.1 (12)
Cheerful	9.3 (10)	12.0 (15)	8.5 (9)	12.2 (14)	8.8 (6)	12.3 (15)
Clean	8.6 (7)	14.1 (17)	13.9 (17)	12.6 (15)	15.4 (17)	8.9 (7)
Courageous	8.5 (5)	8.4 (8)	8.7 (10)	9.8 (12)	9.1 (8)	9.1 (11)
Forgiving	12.1 (17)	10.5 (12)	9.3 (11)	14.3 (18)	9.1 (10)	10.8 (13)
Helpful	8.5 (5)	11.9 (14)	10.2 (13)	9.3 (10)	9.1 (9)	9.6 (10)
Honest	4.6 (1)	5.2 (1)	4.0 (1)	5.1 (1)	3.0 (1)	4.8 (2)
Imaginative	12.0 (16)	10.8 (13)	11.5 (15)	13.1 (16)	10.6 (15)	14.1 (17)
Independent	8.8 (9)	7.7 (6)	7.9 (7)	9.9 (13)	6.9 (5)	9.4 (8)
Intellectual	6.2 (2)	8.5 (9)	10.6 (14)	7.7 (6)	8.9 (7)	7.6 (5)
Logical	10.6 (14)	8.3 (7)	9.9 (12)	5.9 (3)	10.5 (14)	9.6 (9)
Loving	8.3 (4)	9.1 (11)	7.5 (4)	9.1 (8)	6.4 (3)	10.9 (14)
Obedient	9.9 (12)	15.0 (18)	15.3 (18)	13.6 (17)	16.6 (18)	8.4 (6)
Polite	14.7 (18)	13.2 (16)	12.1 (16)	9.7 (11)	14.6 (16)	7.3 (3)
Responsible	6.6 (3)	5.9 (2)	5.2 (3)	5.2 (2)	5.6 (2)	4.4 (1)
Self-controlled	9.5 (11)	8.6 (10)	7.7 (5)	7.6 (5)	10.2 (13)	7.4 (4)

and happiness more highly than did protestants and non-believers, while protestants and non-believers ranked a sense of accomplishment more highly. This is in keeping with other observations of Latin America, which indicate elements of the Puritan work ethic coming into societies where there is a growing number of protestants; Brazil being a prime example of this phenomenon. Cleanliness, helpfulness, and forgiveness were significantly more important to Catholics than to protestants and nonbelievers, while protestants, on the other hand, saw imagination, obedience and responsibility as more important values.

When political affiliation or identification was taken as the crucial variable, a few significant differences were noted. Those identifying with the conservative party placed intellectual as by far their most important instrumental value, probably due to the social class background of the small conservative party, which tends to be made up of the "old" wealthy, and educated families of the country. The conservatives also see forgiveness as a more important value, which is also in keeping with their long-term connection with the Catholic church. On the terminal value scale, conservatives placed family security as their second highest priority, after wisdom, two concepts much in keeping with the political rhetoric of the party.

When the samples were studied by age groupings, it was found that the younger students more highly prized such terminal values as a world of beauty, happiness, mature love and national security, while the older students placed a greater emphasis on social recognition, inner harmony, and self-respect. On the instrumental values ranking, the younger students were significantly more interested in being ambitious, forgiving, and

loving, while the older university students saw being broadminded, capable, and polite as values to strive for.

In conclusion, one can say that many of the values espoused by Nicaraguan youth on the Rokeach Value Survey could have been predicted from an analysis of what observers have been saying about Latin American culture, in general. There were few surprises, but there appear to be significant differences between this sample of Nicaraguan youth, and similar sample groups in some of the more economically developed countries of the world. To say that this sample represents all of Nicaragua would be stretching the truth, as a sample of rural campesinos would no doubt reveal a considerably different value pattern than is true of this educated elite.

Culture-Belief Systems Test

In an attempt to analyze a wide variety of stereotypes concerning Latin American values and attitudes, the author created an instrument titled the Culture-Belief Systems Test. The concepts of sexism, racism, fate, and achievement motivation will be dealt with in this chapter.

Sexism. The concept of hierarchy has some relationship in the area of roles of men and women in Latin society. As with the hierarchy in the Church, the economy and the political realm, there traditionally has been a definite hierarchy within the family. Men were seen as inherently superior to women and high valuation placed on authoritarian husbands, patriarchal fathers and paternalistic landowners, all of whom were males and manifested virility and he-man styles of action, which have come to be known un-er the rubric of machismo. Machismo could be defined

as a reaction and a paradoxical behavior in which the male seeks hyper-manliness to prove himself. Machismo has been seen as a solution to the problems of living in an undeveloped Latin American country, and the difficulties of man-woman relationships have been resolved in the most efficient way possible, namely, total male dominance. Machismo, however, connotes more than sexual potency, aggressiveness and male dominance. It also deals with forcefulness of personality, courage, self-confidence and similar personal qualities. In the political realm it has been stated that although not all machismo types are leaders, all leaders, or caudillos, evidence a high degree of machismo.

It has also been pointed out that there seems to be a double standard in traditional Latin America, in which women are held in high esteem and mothers and other women are treated with ceremony, while at the same time the truly macho person can treat other women in a less dignified manner.

These condepts of the treatment and role of women, machismo and the double standard in Latin American society were dealt with in a variety of questions, shown in Table 8:3.

Insert Table 8:3 here

On some of the questions dealing with sexism there seems to be a definite change in traditional Latin perspectives while on others there would appear to be a maintenance of them. On almost every question, however, there were differences between the men and the women at the .01 level of significance, with the men evidencing what might be called traditional male chauvinist positions. In question 9 concerning the

TABLE 8:3

SEXISM AND RACISM

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
9. Men are inherently superior to women.	25.7	22.9	9.0	8.1	32.4	1.9	2.99	1.64
10. A husband should be the head of his household.	54.8	13.3	6.7	5.7	18.1	1.4	2.18	1.58
19. All men should be forceful and aggressive, a woman should be passive and quiet.	8.6	10.0	8.6	8.1	62.9	1.9	4.09	1.39
20. Men are inherently better administrators and leaders than women.	27.1	16.7	6.7	11.9	36.2	1.4	3.14	1.69
21. It is all right for a married man to have a mistress.	10.0	5.7	8.6	11.0	63.3	1.4	4.14	1.37
22. It is all right for a married woman to have a lover.	1.9	2.9	5.7	1.0	80.0	.5	4.63	.87
57. Respect for women is one of the highest values in our society.	70.5	11.0	2.9	3.3	9.0	3.3	1.65	1.28
48. There are innate differences in capabilities between people of different races.	39.0	16.7	6.7	4.8	30.0	2.9	2.69	1.73
61. People of Mestizo heritage are inherently superior to those of other races.	9.0	4.8	10.0	11.0	60.0	5.2	4.14	1.34

inherent superiority of men over women there is a very strong split on agreement and disagreement with the men and the younger people evidencing significantly more chauvinistic attitudes, along with those who had never traveled abroad. These reactions would seem to indicate that contact with other cultures both within the school and by traveling to other countries has a significant effect upon chauvinistic attitudes on the part of the educated class in Nicaragua. On question 10, stating a husband should be head of the household, there was significantly more agreement, although once again there was more of a split between the men and women on this, with men in much greater agreement. This statement along with the reactions to several of the others would seem to indicate a growing consciousness on the part of educated Nicaraguan women of their changing roles in society and in the home.

Concerning forcefulness, aggression, passivity and quietness, there was considerably more agreement on the part of both men and women that these traits were not necessarily ones limited by sex, which also indicates a change in sexist attitudes within the society. On items 19 and 20, dealing with personality characteristics and roles, those who indicated that they were Catholics evidenced significantly less chauvinistic attitudes than the others. It is difficult to explain this phenomenon, other than possible the reverence towards women found in the Catholic Church and the growing role that women are playing in the Church throughout the world. Although both men and women overwhelmingly reject the double standard of having mistresses and lovers outside of the marriage relationship, the men once again evidenced a greater degree of traditional

beliefs in this area, and evidenced a greater amount of the double standard. There was also overwhelming agreement to the statement that respect for women is one of the highest values of our society, once again affirming what many observers of Latin America have said concerning this as a basic value in Latin America.

In conclusion, one might state that there seems to be a growing awareness on the part of the Nicaraguan-educated young people concerning changing sex roles and relationships, but that overall, they still hold to basic Latin American perceptions of men's and women's roles in society. There also seems to be some evidence that the men are significantly more chauvinist in their attitudes than are the women in the society, which might indicate a trend similar to that occurring in North America and Western Europe. The last 20 years in Nicaragua have seen elementary and secondary schools become co-educational and have seen large numbers of women admitted to the universities for the first time in the history of the country.

Racism. In an attempt to get at racial attitudes on the part of Nicaraguan young people, questions 48 and 61 were asked. The questions were poorly stated and failed to get at what appears to observers to be subtle and not so subtle aspects of race relations in Nicaragua. Since the nation is predominantly mestizo in its racial makeup there are those who say that it has been spared the racial animosities which plague those nations with large Indian, Black or White populations. From an outward standpoint this is true, but the generally depressed state of the black

population on the East Coast of the country and their generally being ignored by the political and economic power structure quite possibly has racial as well as geographical origins. Racial slurs about being black or Indian are in common usage and many Nicaraguans are proud of how "white" they are in comparison with others in the country. All this is not to indicate that racism pervades or dominates Nicaraguan society, but it is to suggest that in spite of the progress made by people of color in the society, racism still lurks not very far below the surface.

Insert Table 8:4 here

Concept of Fate

Fatalism, or the concept of fate, is an underlying factor, according to many observers of Latin society, in determining modes of behavior and attitudes. It has been suggested that it can take two basic forms: that of heroic defiance or of passive resignation. The positive and negative aspects of this concept can be seen in the universal hope for good luck, of which the lottery is a prime example, or in the melancholy and elaborate customs of death, funerals, and graveyards. Fate is also seen when a person makes a good try at something and fails. He does not suffer from the feelings of guilt, conscience or inadequacy that plague those in Western Europe or the United States. If a person has done his best, his failure is due to fate, not a personal failing.

This concept is also seen in one's view of the universe and nature. Whereas the North American and European perceives the universe as mechanistically conceived, with man as its master, the Latin American has generally seen the need for man to cope with nature, not to master it.

TABLE 8:4

MISCELLANEOUS VALUES AND ATTITUDES--CULTURE BELIEF SYSTEMS TEST

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
1. As human beings we have little control over what happens to us.	31.0	21.0	7.7	12.9	25.2	3.3	2.80	1.63
2. Nature, fate, luck and the will of God are what controls our existence.	53.3	14.8	5.2	7.6	15.2	3.8	2.13	1.53
14. It is important for a child to go to school in order to improve his position in life.	89.5	6.7	0.0	.5	2.9	.5	1.20	.73
23. If there is a difficult task to be done, it is better to do it by oneself, than as part of a team.	27.1	10.5	1.9	9.5	49.5	1.4	3.44	1.77
24. Being known as a writer or a poet is a great honor.	54.8	18.1	12.4	5.7	8.1	1.0	1.93	1.28
25. Man can control nature and if necessary change it.	29.5	17.6	7.1	15.2	29.5	1.0	2.98	1.65
26. The world is constantly getting better and eventually a perfect society is possible.	26.2	20.0	11.9	10.5	28.6	2.9	2.95	1.61
31. Honesty is the best policy	45.7	12.9	14.3	4.8	13.3	9.0	2.20	1.47
32. It is all right to do something wrong, as long as you don't get caught.	6.7	3.3	8.6	7.6	71.4	2.4	4.37	1.20
33. Even if one is late for an important meeting, it is more important to stop and talk with a friend than to make it to the appointment on time.	11.0	4.3	3.8	7.6	53.8	19.5	4.11	1.47
34. The political struggles of the 195y century are very important to me today.	41.9	16.7	13.8	4.8	18.6	4.3	2.39	1.55
35. One should never admit he is wrong, as it might cause one to lose face.	17.1	12.9	8.1	11.4	49.0	1.4	3.63	1.60
36. Death is not to be feared, as death is part of our existence.	54.3	13.8	11.4	3.3	15.7	1.4	2.11	1.50

TABLE 8:4 (Continued)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
37. Violence is often necessary to solve personal and political problems.	19.5	12.9	8.1	9.5	48.6	1.4	3.56	1.64
38. To compromise on anything is a sign of weakness.	10.0	7.6	7.6	9.5	63.8	1.4	4.11	1.39
40. If one can only pass a new law or change the present ones, justice will be served.	18.1	9.5	24.3	13.3	29.0	5.7	3.27	1.48
41. Intuition is more important than reason in making decisions.	12.9	19.5	14.3	12.4	36.2	4.8	3.42	1.50
42. Even though a person you don't know may be more highly qualified for a position, it is wise to give it to a friend or relative.	12.4	6.7	3.3	9.0	66.2	2.4	4.13	1.46
45. It is the duty of the children to care for one's parents if they are unable to care for themselves.	85.7	6.2	1.0	1.4	4.3	1.4	1.30	.92
46. It is one's duty to give financial and other material aid to a cousin or uncle if they are in need.	57.1	23.3	6.2	4.8	8.1	.5	1.83	1.24
54. In general, products made in Nicaragua are superior to those made in other countries.	10.5	16.2	17.1	19.5	31.9	4.8	3.49	1.39
55. The Nicaraguan culture is superior to that of the rest of Latin America.	8.6	12.9	19.5	15.2	40.5	3.3	3.69	1.36
56. It is safer to put one's money into a savings account in Nicaragua than to send it to another country.	33.8	11.4	21.0	10.5	20.5	2.9	2.72	1.55
59. When there is a conflict between business and family interests, one's business interests should be considered first.	5.7	11.9	15.2	11.9	50.5	4.8	3.94	1.32

This is no doubt partially due to the harshness of nature for the peasant population of Latin America. These people are constantly bombarded by earthquakes, floods, droughts and other natural disasters. It has been suggested by some observers that as people perceive the possibility of rising above their social class and learn democratic procedures and the values of group action, the fatalistic complex so dominant in Latin society will probably decline in importance.

Confronted directly with the concept of fate, as in question 2, the respondents appear to take a traditional Latin position of helplessness in the face of natural forces, but a closer analysis of the results would seem to indicate that there is a growing sense of personal potency and control or a conception of fate more closely in line with that found in some of the more economically advanced countries of the world. This growing conception would seem to be that nature is intelligible and manageable, and that man can control his own destiny. These studies were completed prior to the earthquake of 1972, and it would be difficult to predict the effect of such a massive natural disaster on a people's growing sense of control.

A close analysis of question 1 shows a very strong split between a large number of respondents who strongly agree and those who strongly disagree with the statement concerning control over our own destiny. On the correlation study it was found to be significant at the .05 level that the older students were much more strongly in disagreement than were the younger students. An interpretation of this might be that as the student progresses in the school system he finds himself in

greater control of his own destiny. He sees a greater chance for personal mobility and success in society. The same phenomenon was found in question 2 to be significant at the .01 level, where once again the older students were more strongly in disagreement and felt that fate was not the controlling mechanism in their lives.

An interpretation of question 6 is a little more difficult, as it deals not only with the concept of fate but also with perceptions of religion and social justice. It was found that students were very strongly in disagreement with the statement, and significant at the .05 level that those who had been involved in international travel were more in disagreement than those who had spent their whole lives within the country of Nicaragua. This would seem to indicate that a broader conception of the world and contact with viewpoints other than their own might have some implications on the Latin Americans' or Nicaraguans' concept of fate. On question 17, respondents were found on all parts of the scale; however, a strong majority disagreed that it was luck which helped a person attain riches. This would once again seem to indicate a growing sense that hard work on the part of an individual is the key to material success, not the will of God or luck. On the control of nature as expressed in item 25, there was found to be a significant difference between younger and older students, with the older holding to the conception that man does have control of nature and his own destiny. In the final statement dealing with fate, God helps those who help themselves, an overwhelming percentage of the students were in agreement with the statement. The only significant correlation, however, was that the

Catholic students were significantly more in agreement than Protestants or those claiming no religion. This would seem to indicate that the word, God, in the statement was the crucial factor, and not the sentiment of the work ethic, as would probably be interpreted in a North American setting.

One might conclude from the results of these particular questions that among the educated class in Nicaragua there is a growing sense of potency and control over their own destiny and over nature, and that as students move through the school system this sense of control grows. This would seem to bear out the hypothesis that as a result of contact with Western Europe, North America and a modern educational system a basic value change is occurring among Nicaraguan youth.

Achievement and Motivation. Numerous observers of the developing world have pointed to a scorn for manual labor as one of the major value considerations when looking at a country and its economic development. This has been observed also in many Latin American countries; whereas much of the continent reflects the ascriptive, or deference values of Hispanic culture, the North American styles were more achievement or welfare-oriented. While in North America and Western Europe work was valued for its own sake, because it meant activity, keeping busy, getting something done, this was not seen as a positive good in traditional Latin societies. Numerous observers have pointed out that material goods, a good education and good health, along with other attributes of a high standard of living are nearly impossible for the vast majority in Latin America to attain. Their basic concern is primarily

with survival, not with higher levels or a higher standard as these are unattainable. Through the use of thematic apperception tests and other instruments the peasant cultures of Latin America and other parts of the world have shown a great degree of hopelessness. This is directly tied in with their concept of fate, as it is only through good luck or fate that one can achieve success in the material realm, not through hard work. The Horatio Alger myth is not a part of Latin culture.

The scorn of manual labor by the educated classes reflects the attitudes of the landed aristocracy from colonial times up until the present. Once a person receives an education or gathers enough wealth about him, manual labor is no longer seen as a positive good. The Puritan concept of the evil of idleness is not to be found in Latin America, and doing nothing is generally not regarded as in and of itself immoral. There is also within the Latin American traditional culture a desire to do those things which are considered personally valuable and interesting, and a great deal of energy is expended on such things, even though manual labor as such might be scorned. Other observers have also pointed out that the plantation system when combined with a racially based hierarchy in some Latin countries has led to an acceptance of aristocratic values which are generally the opposite of those of achievement, universalism and hard work.

Several items on the instrument attempted to deal with these concepts of work and achievement within Latin society and are shown in Table 8:5.

Insert Table 8:5 here

TABLE 8:5 WORK ETHIC AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Blank	Mean	Standard Deviation
7. If one only works hard enough he can overcome poverty.	63.3	18.6	1.0	6.7	9.5	1.0	1.793	1.323
8. Rewards in heaven are more important than rewards on earth.	49.5	13.3	13.3	5.7	15.7	2.4	2.229	1.512
16. It is better to work in an office for less money than to work in a factory or workshop at a higher salary.	9.0	15.2	15.2	13.8	45.2	1.4	3.720	1.410
47. To do nothing is immoral. One should always be involved in constructive work of some sort.	64.3	12.9	7.6	4.8	9.5	1.0	1.813	1.325

The responses to questions 7, 16 and 47 seemed to indicate a major shift away from traditional Latin values concerning work and in general achievement orientation, with the large majority of respondents agreeing with the statement that through hard work one can overcome poverty. There is strong indication that the educated class once again sees some hope. This in no way would indicate that the average "campesino" has changed his position on ability to control his environment through hard work. The significant disagreement on question 16 concerning white collar and blue collar jobs would also indicate a shift in traditional Latin perspectives, as it would seem to indicate that material values would take precedence over prestige values. The overwhelming agreement in question 47, that it is immoral to do nothing and that one should always be involved in constructive work is perhaps the strongest evidence that the Puritan work-ethic and achievement-motivation seen in the more developed countries of North America and Western Europe seem to be taking hold among the educated class of Nicaraguans. The seemingly contradictory reaction on question 8 that rewards in heaven are more important than rewards on earth where a significant agreement is found can be explained by the fact that it was significant at the .01 level that Catholics were more in agreement than Protestants or non-believers. This would seem to indicate that on this particular item the crucial point was not material goods on earth, but a belief in heaven or an afterlife and its importance.

One can conclude that the educational system, the contact with other cultures in the schools and through international travel, and a sense of control over their own destiny have all had an effect on changing the orientation towards work and the achievement-motivation of the educated young of Nicaragua.

Conclusions . Discussions of attitudes, beliefs or values can very easily turn into stereotypical descriptions. This has all too often been the case in reports on Latin America by foreign observers, and has led to some of the resentment towards North Americans on the part of Latins. The traditional stereotypes do little to help in understanding the culture of Latin Americans in general, or of Nicaraguans in particular. The questions on the instrument attempted to get at both the stereotypical values, beliefs and attitudes expressed in the popular press and by prejudiced observers, and also at those reported on by scholarly researchers in a variety of disciplines.

It is true, of course, that a study of the beliefs, attitudes, and values of two hundred secondary and university students in one country cannot be taken as definitive for the whole continent or even for Central America, but they can give some indication of changes occurring among the educated classes. There do appear to be some definite changes in the belief systems of the educated young in Nicaragua. These changes appear to be in the direction of those attitudes, values and beliefs held by people in the more advanced industrialized nations. It can only be speculated as to the causes for these changes, but it would appear that a modern educational system, international travel, and substantial United States influence are basic causes, along with a developing economy, urbanization, industrialization and the mass media.

From the research, then, we can make the following conclusions:

1) There is a move away from ascriptive towards achievement norms on the part of the educated class in Nicaragua. As the education

system serves as a selection device, students are more likely to demand to be judged on their abilities rather than their family background. This does not indicate that the Nicaraguans in general use achievement norms, but would seem to predict a move in this direction in the coming years.

2) Several items on politics and equality indicate a strong shift from elitism towards a greater egalitarianism.

3) As the young have become more highly educated there has been a definite move away from the diffuseness, in which status from one's position is accorded in all situations, and towards the specificity of the more industrialized nations.

4) The individualism and lack of faith in group-decision-making processes appears to be breaking down, although there is some evidence of its remaining as a general attitude.

5) Although Nicaraguan young people still see their culture as more spiritual than that of North America, numerous responses indicate the growing sense of materialism.

6) The inner worth and dignity of all men is a basic value still held to strongly, although the traditional extra deference to older people and women does not appear as strong as in more traditional Latin settings.

7) Although the poetic and literary persons are still looked upon with great respect, it would appear that the scientific method, logic and reason are also growing in importance.

8) Among the newly educated class, there is strong evidence of a growing sense of potency and control over one's own destiny and nature. This

is due in part to the role that education plays in helping individuals rise above their social class, and to the growing understanding of democratic procedures and values of group action. International travel was found to be significant on one item dealing with fate, which tends to support the viewpoint that contact with cultures in which fatalism is not a major factor might influence traditional Latin attitudes in this area. On several items the older students indicated a significantly greater sense of control and potency than the younger ones, which is due in part to natural growing-up processes, but also to the effects of education and the role the system plays as a selection device.

9) Items dealing with concepts of equality tend both to support a traditional position of unequal distribution of wealth and power and a growing sense on the part of older students that such inequalities should no longer exist. Respect for people, regardless of age, wealth or sex, equal treatment before the law, and a more equitable distribution of wealth are concepts to which a growing number of students are giving their allegiance.

10) Traditional political attitudes are in a state of flux, with a definite move away from dependence upon the "caudillo" or strong-man concept, and towards democratic involvement by all the people. Students appeared more ideological in their political orientation as opposed to a traditional personalistic orientation, while at the same time expressing a high degree of cynicism about the possibilities for change and the honesty of politics. Involvement in the political

process and the possibility to effect change in the society are definitely concepts which are growing in importance and should affect the political process in years to come.

11) The large majority of students reject the double standard as it concerns men and women in traditional Latin society, but it cannot be said that "machismo" is dead among Nicaraguan youth. Significant correlations between males and traditional sexist attitudes were found on most items. These attitudes tended to change, however, as students moved through the school system, and although one cannot call it a ground swell of women's liberation, it would appear that traditional male-female roles and relationships are changing rapidly. With women to be found in growing numbers at all levels of the educational system and in a wide variety of occupations, even greater changes are, no doubt, in store for Nicaragua.

12. Values which deal with what might be called the work ethic or achievement motivation are very different among the educated Nicaraguan young than in traditional Latin society. These changes can be partially attributed to the industrialization of Nicaragua and to a growing economy in which those who work hard are rewarded, something not true in the old latifundia.

Without question, traditional Latin values, beliefs and attitudes are changing among the educated young of Nicaragua. This is not to say that the large majority of Nicaraguans still do not hold to more traditional viewpoints and behavior patterns, but as a growing percentage of young people enter the school system, move into the modernized sector of the

economy, see the viability of becoming politically active, demand equal treatment before the law, and come into contact with the values of the more economically advanced countries of the world, there is no doubt that value changes will continue to occur with growing rapidity. This will necessitate changes in the schools, the economy, the polity, the Church, and in every aspect of Nicaraguan life.

Purpose in Life

James C. Crumbaugh developed an instrument in 1968, which he titled the Purpose-In-Life-Test, to test the thesis of Viktor Frankl that when meaning in life is not found, the result is existential frustration (or among mental patients, noögenic neurosis.) The test is made up on 20 items rated from 1 (low purpose) to 7 (high purpose). As can be seen on Table 8:5, the Nicaraguan sample of secondary school and university students with a mean score of 106.9 was skewed towards the purposeful end of the scale, as had been all the normal and even psychiatric samples studied in the United States.

Insert Table 8:6 here

Crumbaugh reports that the predicted differences between clinical and "normal" populations have been found, and that the data from his and other studies support Frankl's theory that when meaning in life is not found, the result is existential frustration.[3] Since the Nicaraguan sample only included a "normal" population, no comparison can be made with Crumbaugh's statistics on psychiatric patients. The results on the Nicaraguan sample, however, do correspond with findings in the United States

TABLE 8:6

PURPOSE IN LIFE TEST
U.S. AND NICARAGUAN SAMPLES

Sample Population	N	Mean Score
Normal		
Successful Businessmen and Professionals (U.S.)	230	118.9
Active and Leading Protestant Parishioners (U.S.)	142	114.3
College Undergrads (U.S.)	417	108.5
Secondary School and University Students Nicaragua)	170	106.9
Indigent hospital patients (U.S.)	16	106.4
Psychiatric		
Neurotics, outpatient (U.S.)	225	93.3
Neurotics, hospitalized (U.S.)	13	95.3
Alcoholics, hospitalized (U.S.)	38	85.4
Schizophrenics, hospitalized (U.S.)	41	96.7
Psychotics, hospitalized (U.S.)	18	80.5

on a couple of dimensions. Males scored higher on the PIL in both the U.S. and Nicaraguan samples, although not to a statistically significant level in Nicaragua. Crumbaugh attributes the higher male scores in the U.S. to the successful businessmen and professionals sample group, which consisted almost totally of men.[4] In the Nicaraguan setting, it is more likely that aspects of male self-concept and male chauvinism come into play, since the sample is made up of students, none of whom had yet succeeded in a career.

Insert Table 8:7 here

On only two items were male Nicaraguans significantly more purposeful than females: 3 and 4. Both of these items could be considered to be highly goal oriented, and given the sexism which was discussed earlier in this chapter, it is likely that males would be more goal oriented and feel a greater sense of purpose than females. However, the fact that on the other eighteen items, no significant difference could be found between the males and females in the sample, is an indication that Nicaraguan females have a positive sense about themselves and their own future. It is also interesting to note that on only one item, number 14, did the mean score fall below 3.5, the half-way point on the Likert scale. This is a strong indication that Nicaraguan young people in general do not suffer to any abnormal degree from a lack of purpose or existential vacuum.

Results from the U.S. sample indicate that although purposeful, meaningful lives are not limited to those persons with educational opportunity or a good income, nor the reverse that a good income and education

assure meaning in life, the fact that indigent hospital patients were significantly lower in their overall scores, does indicate some relationship between Purpose in Life and socio-economic status.[5] The Nicaraguan sample mean score was very close to that of the indigent U.S. sample, but was not significantly below that of U.S. college students, so that about all that one can conclude is that student populations, for reasons of age, education, or experience, tend to rank lower than the successful members of their parent's generation.

Philosophy of Human Nature

The philosophy of human nature is defined by Wrightsman as the expectancies that people have about the ways in which other people behave. In our attempts to prove that there is no such thing as "the human nature," Wrightsman believes that we ignore the fact that the average man believes that there is "one human nature," and acts upon that belief in his dealings with others.[6] Through the use of eighty-four items, the U.S. version of the scale attempts to get at six different components. In the Nicaraguan version, the number of items was limited to forty-two, due to translation and other difficulties. The same six components were dealt with, however, and some comparability of the data is possible. The six subscales are as follows:

1) Trustworthiness, or the extent to which people are seen as moral, honest, and reliable;
2) Altruism, or the extent of unselfishness, sincere sympathy, and concern for others, present in people;

3) Independence, or the extent to which a person can maintain his convictions in the face of society's pressures toward conformity;

4) Strength of Will and Rationality, or the extent to which people understand the motives behind their behavior and the extent to which they have control over their own outcomes;

5) The Complexity of Human Nature, a dimension which cuts across the above continuo and deals with the extent to which people are complex and hard to understand or simple and easy to understand; and

6) the Variability in Human Nature, which also cuts across the first four dimensions and relates to the extent of individual differences in basic nature and the basic changeability in human nature.[7]

In the United States where the test was administered to 530 undergraduates at six colleges in the South, East, and Midwest, split-hair reliabilities and test-retest reliabilities were run with positive results. In addition, predictions about hypothesized differences in favorableness in human nature were confirmed. Females had a more favorable view towards human nature than men at each school; students at a Fundamentalist college were quite negative about human nature and a strong correlation ($r = .65$) was found between negative views and dissatisfaction with one's self-concept. On the Nicaraguan instrument, no tests for either reliability or validity were run, so the data should be looked upon as strictly informative. In addition, the Nicaraguan sample included 42 secondary students and 34 university students, while the U.S. sample was exclusively a college-age population and involved 500 students.

Insert Table 8:8 here

TABLE 8:8

PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN NATURE

Subscale	U.S. Sample Mean Scores	Nicaraguan Sample Mean Scores
Trustworthiness	+2.5	-1.0
Altruism	-3.7	-3.1
Independence	-2.2	-1.5
Strength of Will	+7.2	+5.4
Complexity of Human Nature	+13.0	+2.5
Variability of Human Nature	+17.2	+6.9

In comparing the mean scores of the two samples, few significant differences can be found. The Nicaraguan students tend to be a little less trustworthy of their fellow man than is true of the U.S. sample, and are inclined to view human nature as less complex and less variable than the U.S. college student sample. These differences could possibly be explained by the age differences in the two sample groups, but could also be due to religious or cultural differences. Observers of Nicaraguan and Latin American culture have pointed to the great trust and sense of responsibility towards those who are related, but a distrust towards those external to one's family or town.

Insert Table 8:9 here

On most items on the Nicaraguan instrument, the standard deviations were quite large, indicating a great deal of disagreement on the part of the sample population. Since no analyses were run to differentiate between students of different ages or between males and females, it is impossible to make any judgments or comparisons similar to those made by Wrightsman with the U.S. sample group. All scores tended towards the neutral point, however, indicating neither a great deal of faith in human nature nor a high degree of cynicism about it. Like the U.S. sample, the Nicaraguans had a greater tendency to see people as possessing more strength of will and rationality than other characteristics, a further indication that the concept of fate, traditionally part of the Latin American culture, is giving way to a greater sense of potency.

TABLE 8:9

PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN NATURE

Items Listed by Subscales	Mean Scores
Trustworthiness-Positive Items	
2. Most students will tell the instructor when he has made a take in adding up their score, even if he had given them more points than they deserved.	3.18
7. If you give the average person a job to do and leave him to do it, he will finish it successfully.	3.86
12. People usually tell the truth, even when they know they would be better off by lying.	3.99
18. Most students do not cheat when taking an exam.	3.47
23. Most people are basically honest.	3.50
Subscale Mean Score	3.60
Trustworthiness-Negative Items	
29. People claim they have ethical standards regarding honesty and morality, but few people stick to them when the chips are down.	2.81
35. If you want people to do a job right, you should explain things to them in great detail and supervise them closely.	2.39
41. If most people could get into a movie without paying and be sure they were not seen, they would do it.	2.24
Subscale Mean Score	2.48
Altruism-Positive Items	
4. Most people try to apply the Golden Rule even in today's complex society.	3.10
9. Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.	2.60
14. Most people will act as "Good Samaritans" if given the opportunity.	3.25
19. "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" is a motto most people follow.	4.25
25. Most people would stop and help a person whose car is disabled.	3.99
Subscale Mean Score	3.44
Altruism-Negative Items	
31. The average person is conceited.	3.03
37. It's only a rare person who would risk his own life and limb to help someone else.	2.96
Subscale Mean Score	3.00
Independence-Positive Items	
30. Most people have the courage of their convictions.	3.55
36. Most people can make their own decisions, uninfluenced by public opinion.	2.65
42. It is achievement, rather than popularity with others, that gets you ahead nowadays.	2.90
Subscale Mean Score	3.03

TABLE 8:9 (Continued)

Items Listed by Subscales	Mean Scores
Independence - Negative Items	
3. Most people will change the opinion they express as a result of an onslaught of criticism, even though they really don't change the way they feel.	2.48
8. Nowadays many people won't make a move until they find out what other people think.	3.01
13. The important thing in being successful nowadays is not how hard you work, but how well you fit in with the crowd.	2.82
24. The typical student will cheat on a test when everybody else does, even though he has a set of ethical standards.	2.92
Subscale Mean Score	2.81
Strength of Will and Rationality-Positive Items	
28. If a person tries hard enough, he will usually reach his goals in life.	2.85
34. The average person has an accurate understanding of the reasons for his behavior.	2.32
40. If people try hard enough, wars can be prevented in the future.	2.80
Subscale Mean Score	2.66
Strength of Will and Rationality-Negative Items	
1. Great successes in life, like great artists and inventors, are usually motivated by forces they are unaware of.	2.52
6. Our success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our own control.	3.99
17. Attempts to understand ourselves are usually futile.	3.46
22. There is little one can do to alter his fate in life.	3.54
Subscale Mean Score	3.38
Complexity of Human Nature-Positive Items	
33. I find that my first impressions of people are frequently wrong.	2.86
39. Some people are too complicated for me to figure out.	2.90
Subscale Mean Score	2.88
Complexity of Human Nature-Negative Items	
5. I find that my first impression of a person is usually correct.	4.07
11. People can be described accurately by one term, such as "introverted," or "moral," or "sociable."	2.93
16. It's not hard to understand what really is important to a person.	2.65
21. I think I get a good idea of a person's basic nature after a brief conversation with him.	3.14

TABLE 8:9 (Continued)

Items Listed by Subscales	Mean Scores
27. If I could ask a person three questions about himself (and assuming he would answer them honestly), I would know a great deal about him.	3.36
Subscale Mean Score	3.23
Variability of Human Nature-Positive Items	
10. A person's reaction to things differs from one situation to another	2.33
15. Different people react to the same situation in different ways.	2.21
20. Each person's personality is different from the personality of every other person.	1.77
26. People are quite different in their basic interests.	2.71
Subscale Mean Score	2.26
Variability of Human Nature-Negative Items	
32. People are pretty much alike in their basic interests.	3.16
38. People are basically similar in their personalities.	3.54
Subscale Mean Score	3.35

Mean scores are based on a six-point Likert scale from 1 = Strongly in agreement through 6 = Strongly in disagreement.

Wrightsman correlated the Philosophy of Human Nature scores with those obtained on the Political-Cynicism Scale, the Machiavellianism Scale and the Faith in People Scale, finding strong negative correlations with many parts of the first two and a strong positive correlation with most of the last one. These findings add validity to the instrument in its U.S. administration, and suggest that testing with the other instruments might be of value in the Nicaraguan setting.

Rigidity Scale

Wesley defines rigidity as the "tendency to persist in responses that may previously have been suitable in some situation or other but that no longer appear adequate to achieve current goals or to solve current problems."[8] In the report of her research in The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Wesley dealt with the influence of rigidity on behavior in a concept-formation task, hypothesizing that those who were highly rigid would take longer to learn to shift their set in the concept formtation task than would those who were low in rigidity. She found that people who had a "tendency to perseverate in a relatively large number of everyday situations, or at least said that they did so, also tended to persist longer in their set in the experimental situation."[9]

The Nicaraguan sample were only given a shortened version of the original 67-item Rigidity Scale, and did not participate in any experimental situation to look for perseverance in set. Wesley defined as Rigid, those who fell into the upper decile on the Rigidity Scale. On the Nicaraguan instrument this translated into a score of 23 out of the 41 items, as Wesley found the upper decile in the U.S. sample to be a

score of 28 on 50 items indicating Rigidity. The other 17 items on the U.S. instrument were filler items.

Insert Table 8:10 here

In an analysis of the forty-one items on the Nicaraguan Rigidity Scale, one finds that on thirty of the items, a majority of the respondents indicated that that particular characteristic was true of them. Although the data is not comparable to the U.S. sample, it would appear that Nicaraguan young people do perceive of themselves in a rigid perspective. Banfield's analysis of people in Southern Italy indicates that change is not as positively viewed in more traditional cultures, while Toffler's Future Shock theses would appear to bear out the viewpoint that although there is strong resistance to change in the U.S. and other "developed" societies, a greater percentage of the people have learned to live with change in their own lives and the culture in general, than is true of more traditional and conservative cultures such as that of Nicaragua.

Questions need to be raised about the validity of many of the items, not only for the Nicaraguan setting, but also in the U.S., as a strong case could be made that what Wesley sees as a pattern of rigidity, may, in fact, reflect what the society, in general, perceives as appropriate conduct. That this is so, perhaps is reflected in the response of the Nicaraguan sample to question #2, which ranked last. "There is usually only one best way to solve most problems." An overwhelming 86.7% of the sample rejected this statement, indicating that although they might evidence rigidity on many other items, they were flexible when it comes to seeking solutions to problems. The instrument does contain a vast

TABLE 8:10

RIGIDITY SCALE: STATEMENTS RANK ORDERED

Statement	*Signifies Rigid Position	% True	% False
36.	It is the slow, steady worker who usually accomplishes the most in the end	92.7*	7.3
9.	I usually maintain my own opinions even though many other people may have a different point of view.	87.3*	12.7
25.	People who go about their work methodically are almost always the most successful.	87.3*	12.7
5.	I prefer doing one thing at a time to keeping several projects going.	84.8*	15.2
13.	I prefer to stop and think before I act even on trifling matters.	84.3*	15.7
6.	I dislike to change my plans in the midst of an undertaking.	82.4*	17.6
31.	It is always a good thing to be frank.	81.2*	18.8
37.	I am always careful about my manner of dress.	79.9*	20.1
34.	I believe that promptness is a very important personality characteristic	79.1*	20.9
10.	I find it easy to stick to a certain schedule, once I have started on it.	79.1*	20.9
38.	I usually dislike to set aside a task that I have undertaken until it is finished.	77.6*	22.4
11.	I believe women ought to have as much sexual freedom as men.	27.7	72.3*
15.	I try to follow a program of life based on duty.	72.1*	27.9
39.	I am inclined to go from one activity to another without continuing with any one for too long a time.	28.5	71.5*
24.	I always finish tasks I start, even if they are not very important.	71.4*	28.6
29.	I usually check more than once to be sure that I have locked a door, turned off a light, or something of the sort.	71.0*	39.0
4.	I often become so wrapped up in something I am doing that I find it difficult to turn my attention to other matters.	69.6*	30.4
18.	I usually find that my own way of attacking a problem is best, even though it doesn't always seem to work in the beginning.	69.3*	30.7
27.	I often find myself thinking of the same tune or phrases for days at a time.	68.4*	31.6
26.	When I have undertaken a tast, I find it difficult to set it aside, even for a short time.	67.7*	32.3
40.	I prefer to do things according to a routine which I plan myself.	67.5*	32.5

TABLE 8:10(Continued)

Statement	% True	% False
12. I do not enjoy having to adapt myself to new and unusual situations.	63.9*	36.1
30. I have never done anything dangerous for the thrill of it.	61.7*	38.8
33. I have taken a good many courses on the spur of the moment.	39.4	60.6*
41. I always put on and take off my clothes in the same order.	59.9*	40.1
21. I am a methodical person in whatever I do.	59.8*	40.2
3. I prefer work that requires a great deal of attention to detail.	57.3*	42.7
22. I am usually able to keep at a job longer than most people.	53.4*	46.6
28. I have a work and a study schedule which I follow carefully.	50.3*	49.7
14. I would not like the kind of work which involves a large number of different activities.	49.7*	50.3
35. My interests change very quickly.	52.8	47.2*
32. I have a habit of collecting various kinds of objects.	44.8*	55.2
8. I would like a position which requires frequent changes from one kind of task to another.	59.3	40.7*
7. I never miss going to church.	36.1*	63.9
23. I think it is usually wise to do things in a conventional way	27.9*	72.1
19. I dislike having to learn new ways of doing things.	23.8*	76.2
1. I am often the last one to give up trying to do a thing.	22.6*	77.4
20. I like a great deal of variety in my work.	78.8	21.2*
16. I have kept a careful diary over a period of years.	19.4*	80.6
2. There is usually only one best way to solve most problems.	13.3*	86.7

amount of information, however, about how Nicaraguan young people perceive themselves and their lives. Few significant differences were found on dimensions such as sex, politics or religion of the respondents.

Self-Concept

Two instruments were used to assess the self-concept of Nicaraguan young people. The English version of The Self-Concept Scale was developed by Bledsoe and Garrison in 1964, and consisted ot 30 items for use with elementary school age children.[10] In its Nicaraguan version only twenty-four items were used, 20 positive and 4 negative. The ratio of positive to negative items was similar to that of Bledsoe and Garrison who used 25 positive and 5 negative items. The disproportionate nature of positive items probably affects the results, but the exact nature of its impact is hard to state.

Insert Table 8:11 here

A perusal of the mean scores achieved on the two scales, "This is the Way I am," and "This is the Way I'd Like to Be," show a great deal of homogeneity in the scores on each item, with the This is the Way I Am scores centering around the mid-point of 2.00, and the other scale scores slightly higher at around 2.25. There is some indication that the Nicaraguan student population which consisted of 7th graders, did not understand the testing procedures, as the mean scores on the negative items were similar to those on the positive items, on both scales. About all that can be said about the results is that Nicaraguan young people rate their actual self-concept lower than what they would like to

TABLE 8:11

SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

Descriptive Adjective	This is the Way I am Mean Score	This is the Way I'd Like to Be Mean Score
Friendly	1.57	2.47
Obedient	1.93	2.26
Honest	2.07	2.37
Brave	1.81	2.15
Careful	1.88	2.42
Fair	1.87	2.48
Mean	1.98	2.34
Lazy	1.86	2.00
Truthful	1.83	1.93
Smart	1.82	2.07
Polite	1.92	2.51
Clean	1.83	1.97
Kind	2.23	2.52
Selfish	2.00	2.47
Helpful	1.85	2.12
Good	2.20	2.36
Cooperative	1.94	2.40
Cheerful	2.05	2.35
Jealous	1.97	2.36
Sincere	1.98	2.00
Studious	2.03	2.17
Loyal	1.84	2.48
Likeable	2.17	2.53
A good sport	2.00	2.46

Mean scores are based on a three-point scale: 1 = Nearly Always, 2 = About 1/2 the time; 3 = Just Now and Then.

be, a not too surprising result, given the fact that few people, in any culture, are completely happy with what they are. One of the most widely used Self-Concept scales is the Adjective Check List by Gough and Heilbrun. The instrument can also be used to measure conceptions of others. The 300 items on the test have been broken down into 24 indices: total adjectives checked, defensiveness, total favorable adjectives, total unfavorable, self-confidence, self-control, liability, personal adjustment, achievement, dominance, endurance, order, intraception, nurturance, affiliation, heterosexuality, exhibition, autonomy, aggression, change, succorance, abasement, deference, and counseling readiness.[11] With the Nicaraguan sample of 175 secondary and university students, overall percentages were found for each item, but none of the 24 indices used in the U.S. were computed.

Insert Table 8:12 here

In no case did a majority of the respondents check a particular adjective as being descriptive of them, but Table 8:12 indicates the 32 most checked adjectives and the 32 least checked. Attempts were made to come as close as possible in the translation to the original intent and meaning of the English word, but in some cases "identical" translations could not be found, so a word similar in meaning was substituted. Overall, one gets a fairly good picture of how Nicaraguan young people perceive themselves from what they did and did not check. No negative items showed up on more than a third of the respondents, while the positive items indicated

TABLE 8:12

ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST

Most Checked Adjectives		Least Checked Adjectives	
Adjective	% Checking	Adjective	% Checking
1. appreciative	46.9	1. blustery	12.0
2. friendly	46.9	2. bitter	13.7
3. civilized	45.7	3. awkward	16.0
4. active	45.1	4. autocratic	17.1
5. cooperative	45.1	5. stingy	17.1
6. courageous	44.0	6. boastful	17.7
7. adaptable	42.9	7. unfriendly	17.7
8. reliable	42.9	8. unintelligent	17.7
9. fair-minded	42.9	9. unkind	17.7
10. frank	42.3	10. witty	17.7
11. reflective	40.6	11. absent-minded	18.3
12. curious	40.0	12. uninhibited	18.9
13. cool	40.0	13. cold	19.4
14. contented	39.4	14. conceited	19.4
15. resourceful	39.4	15. efficient	19.4
16. calm	39.4	16. fickle	19.4
17. generous	38.9	17. handsome	19.4
18. formal	38.9	18. unstable	19.4
19. dignified	38.9	19. wary	19.4
20. cheerful	38.3	20. greedy	20.0
21. distractable	38.3	21. jolly	20.0
22. honest	38.3	22. deceitful	20.6
23. responsible	38.3	23. informal	20.6
24. alert	37.7	24. intolerant	20.6
26. healthy	37.7	25. irresponsible	20.6
27. outspoken	37.7	27. stern	20.6
28. considerate	37.1	28. unscrupulous	20.6
29. determined	37.1	29. deliberate	21.1
30. excitable	37.1	30. opinionated	21.1
31. humorous	37.1	31. self-denying	21.1
32. relaxed	37.1	32. vindictive	21.1

an emphasis upon items dealing with nurturance and succorance. The negative adjectives rejected by Nicaraguan young people tended to be ones on the dominance, exhibition and aggression indices.

Concluding Remarks

The studies reported on in this manuscript are in no way meant to give an exhaustive account of all aspects of Nicaraguan culture, values, attitudes and beliefs, but rather to serve as a baseline upon which other research can build. For a variety of historical reasons, little research has been done in Nicaragua, and it is only as the nation faces crises such as earthquakes or floods, or when the U.S. wishes to build a canal through Nicaraguan territory, that the country as a whole receives much international attention.

Given the problem of translation and cross-cultural interpretations of the data, the analysis of the various instuments is speculative at best, but it is, we believe, a good first step in explaining the values, attitudes and beliefs of the educated, elite young people who attend the secondary schools and universities in the country. Further research is needed among the uneducated, poor, rural campesinos, and among the older generation of urbanites, whose values, attitudes, and beliefs might differ greatly from those of the more highly educated young people in our samples.

The Nicaraguan people, in the form of a great many personal friends, have contributed much to me personally and professionally, and comments which might be construed as critical of the society, in no way reflect on them. Analysis of a culture by a foreigner is always suspect, but most

of the comments have been tested with Nicaraguan colleagues. The author, however, is solely responsible for the content of the document.

Chapter 8 Footnotes

[1]Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 5.

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[3]James C. Crumbaugh, "Cross-Validation of Purpose-In-Life Test Based on Frankl's Concepts," Journal of Individual Psychology, 24 (1968): 74.

[4]Ibid., p. 80.

[5]Ibid

[6]Lawrence S. Wrightsman, Jr., "Measurement of Philosophies of Human Nature," Psychological Reports, 14 (1964): 742.

[7]Ibid., p. 744.

[8]Elizabeth L. Wesley, "Perseverative Behavior in a Concept-Formation Task as a Function of Manifest Anxiety and Rigidity," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 48, no. 1 (1953): 129.

[9]Ibid., p. 134.

[10]Joseph C. Bledsoe and Karl C. Garrison, "The Self Concepts of Elementary School Children in Relation to their Academic Achievement, Intelligence, Interests and Manifest Anxiety," ERIC (ED 003 004).

[11]Gough, Harrison G. The Adjective Checklist Manual (Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1964), and Reference Handbook for the Gough Adjective Check List (Berkeley: University of California).

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